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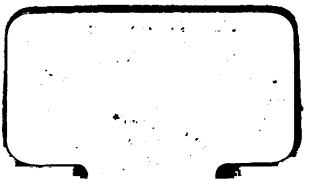

MEMOIRS

OF

MAJOR GENERAL LEE.

MEMOIRS

OF THE LIFE

OF THE LATE

CHARLES LEE, ESQ.

LIEUTENANT-COLONEL OF THE FORTY-FOURTH REGIMENT;
COLONEL IN THE PORTUGUESE SERVICE,
MAJOR GENERAL, AND AID DU CAMP TO

THE KING OF POLAND,

AND

SECOND IN COMMAND IN THE SERVICE OF

THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

DURING THE REVOLUTION:

TO WHICH ARE ADDED

HIS POLITICAL AND MILITARY ESSAYS

ALSO,

LETTERS

TO, AND FROM

MANY DISTINGUISHED CHARACTERS,

BOTH IN EUROPE AND AMERICA.

LONDON:
PRINTED FOR J. S. JORDAN, No. 166, FLEET-STREET.
M, DCC, XCII.

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PREFACE.

THE following Memoirs and Letters of the late Major General Lee have been in the poſſeſſion of the Editor ſince the year 1786. They were tranſmitted from America to England by the gentleman whoſe name is ſubſcribed to the Memoirs, and who was a member of Congreſs for the ſtate of Georgia, for the purpoſe of publication. In their manuſcript ſtate they have been ſeen by ſeveral perſons in England, who expreſſed a ſtrong deſire of putting them to the preſs, which the avocations of the perſon to whom they were entruſted, and his not being acquainted with ſuch undertakings, had cauſed him to neglect.

As the ſubject of Revolutions is again renewed by what has occurred in France, it is preſumed, that whatever relates to the Mother-revolution, that of America, will, at leaſt, afford entertainment to the curious, and contribute to encreaſe the general ſtock of hiſtorical knowledge.

The reader may expect to find, in almoſt every thing that relates to General Lee, a great deal of the ſtrong republican character. His attachment to principles of liberty, without regard to place, made him the citizen of the world rather than of any country; and from his earlieſt youth to the end of his career, this general trait in his character may be traced.

So little of the courtier had he about him, that he never deſcended to intimate any thing. Whatever he ſpoke or wrote was in the fulleſt ſtyle of expreſſion, or ſtrong figure. He uſed to ſay of Mr. Paine, the author of *Common Senſe*, in America, and ſince of *Rights of Man*, in England, (of whoſe writings he was a great admirer,) that "*he*

burſt forth upon the world like Jove in thunder;" and this ſtrength of conception, ſo natural to General Lee, had it not been mixed with a turn equally as ſtrong for ſatire, and two much eccentricity of temper, would have rendered his converſation perpetually entertaining.

Though the Memoirs and every Letter in this publication are moſt faithfully printed from the copy tranſmitted from America, the Editor has omitted many whole letters, and alſo his trial before the Court Martial, as not ſufficiently intereſting to balance the expence to which they would have extended the work. But if any of the particular friends or relations of General Lee ſhould be deſirous of ſeeing them, they may be indulged with the opportunity, by leaving a line at the publiſhers, directed to the

EDITOR.

LONDON, *Feb.* 1792.

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MEMOIRS

MEMOIRS

OF

MAJOR GENERAL LEE.

THE family of the Lees is both ancient and reſpectable, many of them having had connections and intermarriages with the principal families in the Engliſh nation; and, from a pedigree done for Mr. Thomas Lee *, diſtributor and collector of the ſtamp-duties for the county and city of Cheſter, North Wales, we learn, that the General's father was John Lee of Dernhall, in the the ſaid county, who was ſome time a Captain of Dragoons, afterwards Lieutenant Colonel of General Barrel's regiment from 1717 to 1742, at which time he was promoted to a Regiment of Foot. He married Iſabella, ſecond daughter of Sir Henry Bunbury, of Stanney, in the county of Cheſter, Baronet: by this lady he had three

* In 1723.

ſons, Thomas, Harry, and Charles, the youngeſt, who is the ſubject of theſe memoirs.

From his early youth he was ardent in the purſuit of knowledge; and being an officer at eleven years of age, may be conſidered as born in the army; which, though it deprived him of ſome regularity with reſpect to the mode of his education, yet his genius led him aſſiduouſly to cultivate the fields of ſcience, and he acquired a competent ſkill in the Greek and Latin; while his fondneſs for travelling gave him alſo an opportunity of attaining the Italian, Spaniſh, German, and French languages.

Having laid a good foundation, tactics became his favourite ſtudy, in which he ſpent much time and pains, deſiring nothing more than to diſtinguiſh himſelf in the profeſſion of arms. We find him very early in America, commanding a Company of Grenadiers of the 44th regiment; and he was at the battle of Ticonderoga, where General Abercrombie was defeated. Here, it is ſaid, he was ſhot through the body; but fortunately his wound did not prove mortal.

When he returned to England from America, after the reduction of Montreal, he found a general peace was in contemplation. The ceſſion of Canada was talked of, which gave great uneaſineſs to every American, as it appeared prejudicial to their intereſt and ſafety. On this occaſion he exerted himſelf, and publiſhed a pamphlet ſhewing the

the importance of this country, which was much approved of by all the friends to America. The celebrated Dr. Franklin, in particular, was pleaſed to compliment him, and ſaid "that it could not fail of making a ſalutary impreſſion." In the year 1762, he bore a Colonel's commiſſion, and ſerved under General Burgoyne in Portugal; and in this ſervice he handſomely diſtinguiſhed himſelf.

The Spaniards had formed a deſign of invading that kingdom, and had aſſembled an army on the frontiers of Eſtremadura, with an intention of penetrating into the province of Alentejo. Count La Lippe was the commanding officer of the Portugueſe army, who formed a deſign of attacking an advanced body of the Spaniards, which lay on their frontiers, in a town called Valentia de Alcantara.

This enterpize was committed to Brigadier General Burgoyne, who effected a complete ſurprize on the town, took the General who was to have commanded in the intended invaſion, with a number of other officers, and one of the beſt regiments in the Spaniſh ſervice was entirely deſtroyed. But notwithſtanding this, and ſeveral ſubſequent ſkirmiſhes, the Spaniſh army continued maſters of the country, and nothing remained but the paſſage of the Tagus, to enable them to take up their quarters in Alentejo.

General Burgoyne, who was poſted with an in-

tention to obſtruct them in their paſſage, lay in the neighbourhood, and within view of a detached camp, compoſed of a conſiderable body of the enemy's cavalry, which lay near a village called Villa Velha. As he obſerved that the enemy kept no very ſoldierly guard in this poſt, and were uncovered both in their rear and their flanks, he conceived a deſign of falling on them by ſurprize. The execution of his deſign was entruſted to his friend Colonel Lee, who, in the night of October 8th, fell upon their rear, turned their camp, made a conſiderable ſlaughter, diſperſed the whole party, deſtroyed their magazines, and returned with ſcarce any loſs.

When a general concluſion was at length put to the war, he returned to England from Portugal, after having received the thanks of his Portugueſe Majeſty for his ſervices; and Count La Lippe recommended him in the ſtrongeſt terms to the Engliſh Court. He had, at this period, a friend and patron in high office, one of the Principal Secretaries of State; ſo that there was every reaſon for him to have expected promotion in the Engliſh army. But here his attachment, his enthuſiaſm for America, interfered, and prevented. The great Indian, or what we called Pondiacks War, broke out, which the miniſterial agents thought their intereſt to repreſent as a matter of no conſequence. The friends of America thought the reverſe, and aſſerted it would be attended with dreadful waſte,

ravage,

ravage, and deſolation. This brought him once more to publiſh for the defence and protection of this country, by which he loſt the favour of the Miniſtry, and ſhut the door to all hopes of preferment in the Engliſh army. But he could not live in idleneſs and inactivity: he left his native country, and entered into the Poliſh ſervice, and was of courſe abſent when the ſtamp act paſſed; but although abſent, he did not ceaſe labouring in the cauſe of America, as may be learned from many of his letters. He uſed every argument, and exerted all the abilities he was maſter of, with every correſpondent he had, in either Houſe of Parliament, of any weight or influence; and at the ſame time, he had not an inconſiderable number in both.

It muſt be obſerved, that this famous act had divided almoſt every court in Europe into two different parties: the one, aſſertors of the prerogative of the Britiſh Parliament; the other, of the rights and privileges of America. General Lee, on this occaſion, pleaded the cauſe of the Colonies with ſuch earneſtneſs as almoſt to break off all intercourſe with the King's miniſters at the Court of Vienna, men that he perſonally loved and eſteemed; but, at the ſame time, it was thought that he pleaded with ſo much ſucceſs as to add not a few friends and partizans to America. Theſe circumſtances are mentioned, as they ſerve to demonſtrate that a zeal for the welfare of the Colonies, from the General's earlieſt acquaintance

with them, had been a ruling principle of his life. The preſent volumes will teſtify what he ſacrificed, what he did, and what he hazarded, in the laſt and moſt important conteſt which ſeparated the Colonies from their Parent State:—but there is one circumſtance that ſeems to claim a particular attention; which is, that of all the officers who embarked in the American ſervice, he was the only man who could acquire no additional rank, and perhaps the only one whoſe fortune could not have been impaired, or at leaſt the tenure by which it was held, changed from its former condition into a precarious and arbitrary one, by the ſucceſs of the Britiſh miniſtry's ſchemes; for, had they been completed to the full extent of their wiſhes, the condition of his fortune had not been altered for the worſe: his fortune, though not great, was eaſy, and, it may be ſaid, affluent, for a private gentleman; a detail of which the Editor is enabled to collect from his papers.

1ſt. The General had four hundred and eighty pounds *per annum*, on a mortgage in Jamaica, paid punctually.

2dly. An eſtate of two hundred pounds *per annum* in Middleſex, for another gentleman's life; but whoſe life he had inſured againſt his own.

3dly. A thouſand pounds on a turnpike in England, at four *per cent.* intereſt.

4thly. One thouſand five hundred pounds, at five *per cent.*

5thly. His

5thly. His half-pay, one hundred and thirty-ſix pounds *per annum*; in all, nine hundred and thirty-one pounds *per annum*, clear income: beſides this, about twelve hundred pounds in his agent's hands, and different debts. He had, likewiſe, ten thouſand acres of land in the iſland of St. John, which had been located and ſettled at the expence of ſeven hundred pounds; and a mandamus for twenty thouſand acres in Eaſt Florida.

This is the ſtate of the General's fortune when he engaged in the late American conteſt; and this fortune would have been totally unaffected, though the prerogative of taxing America without her conſent had been eſtabliſhed and confirmed: the full poſſeſſion of it was ſecure, and independent of her fate. But theſe conſiderations did not influence his mind: he gave up ſecurity for inſecurity, certainty for uncertainty; he threw into the lap of America, without any chance of winning; he ſtaked all on the die of her fortunes: if ſhe ſucceeded, he could not be bettered; if ſhe miſcarried, his whole was loſt. His rank, as before obſerved, acquired no addition; but the contrary, for a ſtop was put to its progreſs in the two other ſervices, the Poliſh and the Engliſh.

The General, who could never ſtay long in one place, during the years 1771, 1772, to the fall of 1773, had rambled all over Europe; but we can collect nothing material relative to the adventures of his travels, as his memorandum-books only

mention the names of the towns and cities through which he paſſed. That he was a moſt rapid and very active traveller, is evident: it appears alſo, that he was engaged with an officer in Italy in an affair of honour, by which he loſt the uſe of two of his fingers; but having recourſe to piſtols, the Italian was ſlain, and he immediately obliged to fly for his life. His warmth of temper drew him into many rencounters of this kind; in all which he acquitted himſelf with ſingular courage, ſprightlineſs of imagination, and great preſence of mind.

Much diſſatisfied with the appearance of the political horizon at London, on the 16th of Auguſt 1773, he embarked on board the packet for New-York, where he arrived on the 10th of November following, and had a very ſevere fit of the gout. At this period, the controverſy between Great Britain and her Colonies began to be ſerious; and the General concerted a deſign of taking a part in favour of America, in caſe it came to an open rupture.

The deſtruction of the Britiſh Eaſt India company's tea at Boſton, the 16th of December, was a prelude to the calamities that afterwards enſued. At this criſis, General Lee's mind was not inobſervant or inactive; his converſation, his pen, animated the Coloniſts to a great degree, and perſuaded them to make a perſevering reſiſtance.

During this winter, he viſited Philadelphia, Williamſburgh, and ſeveral other places in Virginia

ginia and Maryland; and returned to Philadelphia, a few months before the firſt Congreſs met in that city, on the 5th of September. Encouraging and obſerving what was going forward here, he then paid a viſit to New-York, Rhode-Iſland, and Boſton, where he arrived on the 1ſt of Auguſt 1774. The moſt active political characters on the American theatre, now hailed him, and were happy in his acquaintance, not a little pleaſed with his ſanguine, lively temper; conſidering his preſence among them at this criſis, as a moſt fortunate and propitious omen. General Gage had now iſſued his proclamations; and though Lee was on half-pay in the Britiſh ſervice, it did not prevent him from expreſſing his ſentiments in terms of the moſt pointed ſeverity againſt the miniſtry. In ſhort, he blazed forth a Whig of the firſt magnitude, and communicated a portion of his ſpirit to all with whom he converſed. As he continued travelling, or rather flying from place to place, he became known to all who diſtinguiſhed themſelves in this important oppoſition: his company and correſpondence were courted, and many occaſional political pieces, the productions of his pen, were eagerly read, and much admired; and from this popularity, there is no reaſon to doubt but he expected he ſhould ſoon become the firſt in military rank on this Continent.

General Gates was ſettled on a plantation in Berkeley

Berkeley county, Virginia; and having a great friendſhip for Lee, perſuaded him to purchaſe from a Mr. Hite, a very fine valuable tract of land in his neighbourhood, of about two thouſand ſeven hundred acres, on which were ſeveral good improvements.

On this buſineſs, he left his friends in the Northern States, and returned to Virginia, where he remained till the month of May 1775, when he again preſented himſelf at Philadelphia. The American Congreſs were aſſembled; and he became daily a greater enthuſiaſt in the cauſe of Liberty. The battle of Lexington, and ſome other matters, had now ripened the conteſt; and Lee's active and enterpriſing diſpoſition was ready for the moſt arduous purpoſes. He therefore accepted a commiſſion from the Congreſs, which was offered to him by ſome of its principal members; but he found it neceſſary previouſly to reſign that which he held in the Britiſh ſervice. This he did without delay, in a letter tranſmitted to the Right Honourable Lord Viſcount Barrington, his Majeſty's Secretary at War; aſſuring his Lordſhip, that although he had renounced his half-pay, yet, whenever it ſhould pleaſe his Majeſty to call him forth to any honorable ſervice againſt the natural hereditary enemies of his country, or in defence of his moſt juſt rights and dignity, no man would obey the righteous ſummons with more zeal and alacrity than himſelf: at the ſame time, the

General

General expreſſed his diſapprobation of the preſent meaſures, in the moſt direct terms; declaring them to be "ſo abſolutely ſubverſive of the rights and liberties of every individual ſubject, ſo deſtructive to the whole empire at large, and ultimately ſo ruinous to his Majeſty's own perſon, dignity, and family, that he thought himſelf obliged in conſcience, as a citizen, Engliſhman, and a ſoldier of a free State, to exert his utmoſt to defeat them."

Profeſſing theſe ſentiments, he received a Continental commiſſion of the rank of Major General. As he had made war his ſtudy from his youth, ſeen a variety of ſervice, and diſtinguiſhed himſelf for his courage and abilities, one might have imagined he would have immediately been appointed ſecond in command in the American army: this was not the caſe; in all countries, kiſſing goes by favour; and men will be tenacious of any rank beſtowed upon them. General Ward, of Maſſachuſetts Bay, by ſome means or other, had received a commiſſion of a prior date; and on this account, perhaps to the injury of the ſervice, he took rank of General Lee, who was at preſent content to act under him. Whatever his feelings were on this head, he took care to diſguiſe them; and General Ward, on the evacuation of Boſton, grew weary of military honour and ſervice, retired to private life, and ſent his reſignation to Congreſs.

On the 21ſt of June, General Waſhington and General Lee, having received their orders from Congreſs, left Philadelphia, in order to join the troops aſſembled near Boſton. They were accompanied out of the city, for ſome miles, by a troop of light horſe, and by all the officers of the city militia, on horſeback; and at this time General Lee was accounted, and really was, a great acquiſition to the American cauſe. On the road they received the news of the affair at Bunker's-hill, and arrived at the camp at Cambridge the 2d of July 1775. The people of Maſſachuſetts received them with every teſtimony of eſteem; and the Congreſs of that Colony not only preſented an addreſs to his Excellency General Waſhington, as commander in chief, but, from a ſenſe of the military abilities of General Lee, preſented one to him alſo, couched in terms of the higheſt reſpect. The General remained with this army till the year 1776, when General Waſhington, having obtained intelligence of the fitting out of a fleet at Boſton, and of the embarkation of troops from thence, which, from the ſeaſon of the year, and other circumſtances, he judged muſt be deſtined for a Southern expedition, gave orders to General Lee, to repair with ſuch volunteers as were willing to join him, and could be expeditiouſly raiſed, to the city of New-York, with a deſign to prevent the Engliſh from taking poſſeſſion of New-York and the North-River, as they would thereby

thereby command the country, and the communication with Canada. The General, on his arrival, began with putting the city in the beſt poſture of defence the ſeaſon of the year and circumſtances would admit of; diſarming all ſuch perſons upon Long-Iſland, and elſe where, whoſe conduct and declarations had rendered them ſuſpected of deſigns unfriendly to the views of Congreſs. Colonel Ward was ordered to ſecure the whole body of profeſſed Tories in Long-Iſland. This gave an univerſal alarm, that even the Congreſs of New-York endeavoured to check the General in this buſineſs, by informing him, in a letter, that the trial and puniſhment of citizens belonged to the Provincial Congreſs, and not to any military character, however exalted. To this the General anſwered, that when the enemy was at the doors, forms muſt be diſpenſed with—that his duty to them, to the Continental Congreſs, and to his own conſcience, had dictated the neceſſity of the meaſure—that if he had done wrong, he would ſubmit himſelf to the ſhame of being reputed raſh and precipitate, and undergo the cenſure of the public; but he ſhould have the conſciouſneſs of his own breaſt, that the pure motives of ſerving the community, uncontaminated by picque or reſentment to individuals, urged him to the ſtep. The General alſo remonſtrated againſt ſupplying the men of war and Governor Tryon with proviſions, as the boats coming to the city muſt open the means of their

receiving every ſort of intelligence. "I ſhould," ſays the General in one of his letters, "be in the higheſt degree culpable to God, my conſcience, and the Continental Congreſs, in whoſe ſervice I am engaged, ſhould I ſuffer, at ſo dangerous a criſis, a banditti of profeſſed foes of liberty and their country, to remain at liberty to co-operate with, and ſtrengthen the miniſterial troops openly in arms, or covertly, and conſequently more dangerouſly furniſh them with intelligence." He alſo drew up a *Teſt*, which he ordered his officers to offer to thoſe who were reputed inimical to the American cauſe: a refuſal to take this, was to be conſtrued as no more or leſs than an avowal of their hoſtile intentions; upon which, their perſons were to be ſecured, and ſent to Connecticut, where it was judged they could not be ſo dangerous. Thus the General excited the people to every ſpirited meaſure, and intimidated by every means the friends to the Engliſh government. At this time, Captain Vandeput, of the Aſia, ſeized a Lieutenant Tiley, and kept him on board his ſhip in irons. On the principles of retaliation, Lee took into cuſtody Mr. Stephens, an officer of Government; and informed the Captain what he had done, and that this gentleman ſhould not be releaſed until Lieut. Tiley was returned. This had the deſired effect. His determined and deciſive diſpoſition had an amazing influence both on the army and people; and the ſteps he propoſed

propoſed for the management of thoſe who diſapproved of the American reſiſtance, ſtruck a terror wherever he appeared.

Congreſs had now received the account of General Montgomery's unſucceſsful expedition againſt Quebec. As flattering expectations were entertained of the ſucceſs of this officer, the event threw a gloom on American affairs. To remedy this diſaſter, they turned their eyes to General Lee, and Congreſs reſolved that he ſhould forthwith repair to Canada, and take upon him the command of the army of the United Colonies in that province. This, though he was juſt recovered from a fit of the gout, he accepted; but while preparations were making for the important undertaking, Congreſs changed their determination, and appointed him to the command of the Southern department; in which he became very conſpicuous, as a vigilant, brave and active officer. His extenſive correſpondence, his addreſs under every difficulty, and his unwearied attention to the duties of his ſtation, all evince his great military capacity, and extreme uſefulneſs to the cauſe he had eſpouſed, and was warmly engaged in—Every teſtimony of reſpect was paid him by the people of the Northern Colonies, and he experienced a ſimilar treatment in his journey to the Southward. On his arrival at Williamſburgh, every one expreſſed their high ſatisfaction at his preſence among them; and the troops of that city embraced the

opportunity

opportunity of preſenting him with an addreſs, expreſſive of their ſanguine hopes and firm reſolutions of uniting with him in the common cauſe. This example was followed at Newbern, North-Carolina; and a committee was appointed by the inhabitants of that town, to wait upon him in their name, and, in an addreſs, to thank him for his generous and manly exertions in defence of American rights and liberties; and to offer him their cordial congratulations for his appearance among them, at a time when their province was actually invaded by a powerful fleet and army; and to expreſs their happineſs to find the command of the troops deſtined for their protection, placed in the hands of a gentleman of his diſtinguiſhed character.

Great too was the joy in South Carolina, where his preſence was ſeaſonable and abſolutely neceſſary, as Sir Henry Clinton was actually preparing for an invaſion of that province. The minds of all ranks of people were conſiderably elevated at the ſight of him; it diffuſed an ardour among the military, attended with the moſt ſalutary conſequences; and his diligence and activity at Charleſtown, previous to the attack upon Sullivan's iſland, will be long remembered. From a peruſal of his letters and directions to the officers commanding at that poſt, we may juſtly infer, that America was under no ſmall obligations to him for the ſignal ſucceſs there obtained—And here it may be mentioned,

tioned as ſomewhat remarkable, that when General Lee received orders, at Cambridge, to repair to New-York, to watch the motions of the Britiſh, he met General Clinton the very day he arrived there;—when he came to Virginia, he found him in Hampton Road—and juſt after his arrival in North Carolina, General Clinton left Cape Fear—Their next meeting was at Fort Sullivan, which muſt have made Lee appear to Clinton as his evil genius, haunting him for more than eleven hundred miles, along a coaſt of vaſt extent, and meeting him at Philippi.

The affair of Sullivan's iſland was a moſt extraordinary deliverance; for, if the Engliſh had ſucceeded, it is more than probable the Southern Colonies would at that time have been compelled to have ſubmitted to the Engliſh government. Dreadful was the cannonade, but without effect. Porto Bello, Boccochico, and the other caſtle at Carthagena, were obliged to ſtrike to Vernon; Fort Lewis in Saint Domingo yielded to the metal of Admiral Knowles; but in this inſtance, an unfiniſhed battery, conſtructed with Palmeto logs, reſiſted, for a whole day, the twelve and eighteen-pounders of the Britiſh fleet, to the aſtoniſhment and admiration of every ſpectator.

The fleet and army under Sir Henry Clinton and Sir Peter Parker being repulſed, General Lee then flew to the aſſiſtance of Georgia, where he continued for ſome weeks, planning ſchemes to

put that province in a ſtate of defence, and to make an excurſion into Eaſt Florida, as their Southern frontiers were ſuffering conſiderably by the incurſions of Indians and others from that quarter.

About this time, the Congreſs were informed by General Waſhington, that Clinton, with the troops under his command, had returned, and joined General Howe at Staten-iſland. In conſequence of this intelligence, the Congreſs were convinced that the Engliſh, by collecting their whole force into a point, were determined to make a moſt vigorous exertion at New-York; and in order to enſure ſucceſs there, were diſpoſed for the preſent to overlook every other object. The getting poſſeſſion of that city, and the junction of the two armies under General Howe and Burgoyne, it was the Congreſs's opinion, were the grand objects they had in view, and for the attainment of which they would give up every inferior conſideration. Lee's ſucceſs in the Southern department had increaſed the good opinion they had conceived of him; his reputation was in its zenith; and they now applied to him for aſſiſtance, in the preſent important ſituation of their affairs. An expreſs was diſpatched to Georgia, directing him to repair as ſoon as poſſible to Philadelphia, there to receive ſuch orders as they might judge expedient. He returned with great expedition, the beginning of October, and waited on Congreſs imme-

immediately on his arrival, who, after conſulting him, reſolved that he ſhould without delay repair to the camp at Haerlem, with leave, if he ſhould judge proper, to viſit the poſts in New-Jerſey. He arrived at General Waſhington's army juſt time enough to prevent it from being blockaded in York-iſland, the circumſtance of which hath been thus related. General Waſhington was at that time under a neceſſity of conſulting his council of officers, before he could take any ſtep of conſequence; and they, contrary to his opinion, were for waiting an attack in their own lines on York-iſland—Extenſive barracks had been erected, and large preparations made for ſuch a ſtep. Sir William Howe, finding the Americans too ſtrong to be attacked with ſafety from the ſide of New-York, leaving Lord Piercy with a body of troops oppoſite the river, embarked the reſt in his flat boats, paſſed ſafely the dangerous paſſage of Hell-Gate, and landed on Frog's Neck, an iſland ſeparated by a ſmall creek from Weſt Cheſter. Here he remained a week, under a pretence of waiting for ſtores and proviſions; while the Americans, in conſequence of their reſolution, continued on the iſland. The very evening before General Howe made a movement, General Lee arrived at General Waſhington's camp: *his opinion* of their dangerous ſituation convinced the Council of War; and, that night, a precipitate movement extricated them from the

danger. The next morning, General Howe landed on Pell's Manor, a point ſeparated from Frog's Neck by a channel of ſcarce 200 yards: he then extended his army acroſs to Hudſon's river; but there was then no enemy to intercept. Had he, inſtead of trifling away his time, crammed up on Frog's Neck, landed only on Pell's point, not a ſoul of the American army would have eſcaped. Hitherto General Lee had been ſucceſsful, and was univerſally eſteemed; but fortune now began to reverſe the ſcene. On the 13th of December 1776, at the head of all the men he could collect, he was marching to join General Waſhington, who had aſſembled the Pennſylvania militia, to ſecure the banks of the Delaware.—From the diſtance of the Britiſh cantonments, he was betrayed into a fatal ſecurity, by which, in croſſing the upper part of New-Jerſey from the North river, he fixed his quarters, and lay careleſsly guarded at ſome diſtance from the main body. This circumſtance being communicated to Colonel Harcourt, who commanded the Britiſh light horſe, and had then made a deſultory excurſion at the head of a ſmall detachment, he conducted his meaſures with ſuch addreſs and activity, that Lee was carried off, though ſeveral guarded poſts and armed patroles lay in the way. Great was the joy of the Britiſh, and equal the conſternation of the Americans, at this unexpected event. The making of a ſingle officer priſoner,

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in other circumſtances would have been a matter of little moment; but in the preſent ſtate of the continental forces, where a general deficiency of military ſkill prevailed, and the inexperience of the officers was even a greater grievance, the loſs of a commander, whoſe ſpirit of enterprize was directed by great knowledge in his profeſſion, acquired by actual ſervice, was indeed of the utmoſt importance. The Congreſs, on hearing this news, ordered their Preſident to write to General Waſhington, deſiring him to ſend a flag to General Howe, for the purpoſe of enquiring in what manner General Lee was treated; and if he found that it was not agreeable to his rank and character, to ſend a remonſtrance to General Howe on the ſubject. This produced much inconvenience to both ſides, and much calamity to individuals. A cartel had ſome time before been eſtabliſhed for the exchange of priſoners between the Generals Howe and Waſhington, which had hitherto been carried into execution, as far as time and circumſtances would admit. As Lee was particularly obnoxious to Government, it was ſaid that General Howe was tied down by his inſtructions, from parting with him upon any terms, if the fortune of war ſhould throw him into his power. General Waſhington not having at this time any priſoners of equal rank with Lee, propoſed to exchange ſix field officers for him, the number being intended to balance that diſparity;

or if this was not accepted, he required that he ſhould be treated ſuitably to his ſtation, according to the practice eſtabliſhed among poliſhed nations, till an opportunity offered for a direct and equal exchange. To this it was anſwered, that as Mr. Lee was a deſerter from his Majeſty's ſervice, he was not to be conſidered as a priſoner of war; that he did not at all come within the conditions of the cartel, nor could he receive any of its benefits. This brought on a fruitleſs diſcuſſion, whether General Lee, who had reſigned his half-pay at the beginning of the troubles, could be conſidered as a deſerter; or whether he could with juſtice be excluded from the general benefits of a cartel, in which no particular exception of perſon had been made. In the mean time, General Lee was guarded with all the ſtrictneſs which a State criminal of the firſt magnitude could have experienced in the moſt dangerous political conjuncture. This conduct not only ſuſpended the operation of the cartel, but induced retaliation on the American ſide; and Colonel Campbell, who had hitherto been treated with great humanity by the people of Boſton, was now thrown into a dungeon.

Thoſe Britiſh officers who were priſoners in the Southern Colonies, though not treated with equal rigour, were, however, abridged of their parole liberty. It was at the ſame time declared, that their future treatment ſhould in every degree be regulated

lated by that which General Lee experienced, and that their perſons ſhould be anſwerable, in the utmoſt extent, for any violence that was offered to him. Thus matters continued till the capture of the Britiſh army under General Burgoyne at Saratoga, October 17th, 1777. A change of conduct towards him then took place; he was allowed his parole in New-York, lodged in the ſame houſe with Lieutenant Colonel Butler of the 38th, dined with General Robertſon commandant of the town, and with many principal officers and families, and a ſhort time after was exchanged.

The firſt military ſcene in which General Lee appeared after his liberation, was the battle of Monmouth, which terminated his career in the American army. Before this affair, his character in general was very reſpectable; many of the warm friends to America, highly valued the important ſervices he had rendered to the United States.

From the beginning of the conteſt, he had excited and directed the military ſpirit which pervaded the continent; his converſation raiſed an emulation among the officers, and he taught them to pay a proper attention to the health, cloathing, and comfortable ſubſiſtence of their men: add to this, his zeal was unwearied in inculcating the principles of liberty among all ranks of people; hence it is ſaid, that a ſtrong party was formed in Congreſs, and by ſome diſcontented officers in the army, to raiſe Lee to the firſt command; and it

hath been ſuggeſted by many, that General Lee's conduct at the battle of Monmouth, was intended to effect this plan; for, could the odium of the defeat have been at that time thrown on General Waſhington, and his attack of the Britiſh army made to appear raſh and imprudent, there is great reaſon to ſuppoſe he would have been deprived of his command. It hath been obſerved by ſome writers on this ſubject, that when General Lee was taken priſoner, the American army was on no par with the Royal forces; but the caſe was much changed on his return from his captivity. He found them improved, and daring enough to attack even the Britiſh grenadiers with firmneſs and reſolution. Had not this been the caſe, and General Lee, when ordered to attack the rear of the Royal army, ſeen his men beat back with diſgrace, unwilling to rally, and acting with fear and trepidation, his retreat would have been neceſſary, his conduct crowned with applauſe, and his purpoſes effected; but, diſappointed in this view, the retreat hath been imputed to himſelf, as he could not alledge the want of ſpirit in his troops for the juſtification of his conduct.

The Britiſh army, early on Thurſday the 25th of June, completed their evacuation of Philadelphia, having before tranſported their ſtores and moſt of their artillery into the Jerſies, where they had thrown up ſome works, and ſeveral regiments were encamped;—they manned the lines the preceding night,

night, and retreated over the commons, croſſing at Glouceſter Point. A party of the American horſe purſued them very cloſe; however nothing very material happened till the 28th, when, about three o'clock in the morning, the Britiſh army moved on their way to Middletown Point. About eleven o'clock, the American van, commanded by General Lee, overtook them; but he ſoon retreated, and was met by General Waſhington, who formed on the firſt proper piece of ground near Monmouth Court-houſe. While this was doing, two pieces of cannon, ſupported by Colonel Livingſton and Colonel Stewart, with a picked corps of 300 men, kept off the main body of the Engliſh, and made a great ſlaughter. Very ſevere ſkirmiſhing enſued; and the American army advancing, the Britiſh made their laſt efforts upon a ſmall body of Pennſylvania troops at and about Mr. Tennant's houſe; they then gave way, leaving the field covered with dead and wounded. General Waſhington's troops purſued for about a mile, when, night coming on, and the men exceedingly fatigued with marching, and the hot weather, they halted about half a mile beyond the ground of the principal action.—The Britiſh took a ſtrong poſt in their front, ſecured on both flanks by moraſſes and thick woods, where they remained until about twelve at night, and then retreated. In conſequence of this action, General Lee was put under arreſt, and tried by a Court Martial at

Brunſwick, the 4th July following. The charges exhibited againſt him were,

1ſt. For diſobedience of orders, in not attacking the enemy on the 28th of June, agreeable to repeated inſtructions.

2dly. For miſbehaviour before the enemy on the ſame day, by making an unneceſſary, diſorderly, and ſhameful retreat.

3dly. For diſreſpect to the commander in chief, in two letters, dated the 1ſt July, and the 28th June.

The letters, on which the third charge is founded, are as follows:

SIR Camp, Engliſh Town, 1ſt July 1778.

FROM the knowledge I have of your Excellency's character, I muſt conclude, that nothing but the miſinformation of ſome very ſtupid, or miſrepreſentation of ſome very wicked perſon, could have occaſioned your making uſe of ſuch very ſingular expreſſions as you did, on my coming up to the ground where you had taken poſt: they implied, that I was guilty either of diſobedience of orders, of want of conduct, or want of courage. Your Excellency will therefore infinitely oblige me, by letting me know, on which of theſe three articles you ground your charge, that I may prepare for my juſtification; which I have the happineſs to be confident I can do, to the Army, to the Congreſs, to America, and to the World

World in general. Your Excellency muſt give me leave to obſerve, that neither yourſelf, nor thoſe about your perſon, could, from your ſituation, be in the leaſt judges of the merits or demerits of our manœuvres; and, to ſpeak with a becoming pride, I can aſſert, that to theſe manœuvres the ſucceſs of the day was entirely owing. I can boldly ſay, that had we remained on the firſt ground, or had we advanced, or had the retreat been conducted in a manner different from what it was, this whole army, and the intereſts of America, would have riſked being ſacrificed. I ever had, and I hope ever ſhall have, the greateſt reſpect and veneration for General Waſhington; I think him endued with many great and good qualities: But in this inſtance, I muſt pronounce, that he has been guilty of an act of cruel injuſtice, towards a man who has certainly ſome pretenſions to the regard of every ſervant of his country; and, I think, Sir, I have a right to demand ſome reparation for the injury committed; and unleſs I can obtain it, I muſt, in juſtice to myſelf, when the campaign is cloſed, which I believe will cloſe the war, retire from a ſervice, at the head of which is placed a man capable of offering ſuch injuries:—but, at the ſame time, in juſtice to you, I muſt repeat, that I from my ſoul believe, that it was not a motion of your own breaſt, but inſtigated by ſome of thoſe *dirty earwigs* who will for ever inſinuate themſelves near perſons in high office; for I am really con-

convinced, that when General Washington acts from himself, no man in his army will have reason to complain of injustice and indecorum.

I am, Sir, and I hope ever shall have reason to continue,

Your most sincerely devoted

Humble Servant,

CHARLES LEE.

His Excellency Gen. Washington.

Head Quarters, English-Town, June 28th 1778.

SIR,

I RECEIVED your letter, (dated, through mistake, the 1st of July), expressed, as I conceive, in terms highly improper. I am not conscious of having made use of any very singular expressions at the time of my meeting you, as you intimate. What I recollect to have said, was dictated by duty, and warranted by the occasion. As soon as circumstances will admit, you shall have an opportunity either of justifying yourself to the Army, to Congress, to America, and to the World in general, or of convincing them that you are guilty of a breach of orders, and of misbehaviour before the enemy on the 28th instant, in not

attacking

attacking them as you had been directed, and in making an unneceſſary, diſorderly, and ſhameful retreat.

I am, Sir,

Your moſt obedient Servant,

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

Major Gen. Lee.

SIR, Camp, June 28th, 1778.

I BEG your Excellency's pardon for the inaccuracy in miſdating my letter. — You cannot afford me greater pleaſure than in giving me the opportunity of ſhewing to America, the ſufficiency of her reſpective ſervants. I truſt, that the temporary power of office, and the tinſel dignity attending it, will not be able, by all the miſts they can raiſe, to offiſcate the bright rays of truth. In the mean time, your Excellency can have no objection to my retiring from the army.

I am, Sir,

Your moſt obedient,

Humble Servant,

CHARLES LEE.

Gen. Waſhington.

SIR,

SIR, Camp, June 30th, 1778.

SINCE I had the honour of addreſſing my letter by Colonel Fitzgerald to your Excellency, I have reflected on both your ſituation and mine; and beg leave to obſerve, that it will be for our mutual convenience, that a Court of Inquiry ſhould be immediately ordered; but I could wiſh it might be a Court Martial: for, if the affair is drawn into length, it may be difficult to collect the neceſſary evidences, and perhaps might bring on a paper-war betwixt the adherents to both parties, which may occaſion ſome diſagreeable feuds on the Continent; for all are not my friends, nor your admirers.

I muſt entreat, therefore, from your love of juſtice, that you will immediately exhibit your charge; and that on the firſt halt, I may be brought to a trial.

I am, Sir,

Your moſt obedient,

Humble Servant,

CHARLES LEE.

His Excellency Gen. Waſhington.

THE

THE Court met, by ſeveral adjournments, till the 12th of Auguſt, when they found the unfortunate General guilty of the ſeveral charges brought againſt him, and ſentenced him to be ſuſpended from any commiſſion in the armies of the United States of North America for the term of twelve months. But it was uſual in America, and thought neceſſary, that the ſentence of every Court Martial ſhould be ratified or confirmed by Congreſs; the proceedings, therefore, of the Court, were accordingly tranſmitted to them, and the General repaired to Philadelphia to await their deciſion. During his ſtay there on this buſineſs, he was involved in ſeveral diſputes; and though his affair might be conſidered as yet *ſub judice*, yet the converſation of the city was rather againſt him, which induced him to publiſh, as it were, a ſecond defence; and as this may not be ſo well known to the public as the elegant and maſterly defence in his trial, which hath been republiſhed in Europe, I ſhall inſert it in this place.

GENERAL LEE's Vindication to the Public.

THE different commentators on the orders I received from Gen. Waſhington on the 28th of June, have, I think, conſtrued them into no more than three different ſenſes. I ſhall, therefore, for argument's ſake,

ſake, give the world leave to ſuppoſe them to have been any one of theſe three* :—1ſt. To attack the enemy in whatever ſituation, and in whatever force I found them, without conſidering conſequences.

2d. To contrive the means of bringing on a general engagement.

3d. To annoy them as much as poſſible, without riſking any thing of great importance; that is, in fact, to act with a great degree of latitude, according to my own diſcretion.

Now, I ſay, granting any one of theſe three to have been the orders I received, it is manifeſt, that I did literally and effectually comply, as far as depended on myſelf, and on human means. As to the firſt, notwithſtanding the attempt, by a low evaſion, to prove that the orders I gave were only to *advance* on the enemy, it is clear from Captain Mercer's evidence, that General Wayne and Colonel Butler were ordered, not only to advance, but, in preciſe terms, to attack;—it is clear, that I did, with the three brigadiers on the right, make the only movement poſſible to accompliſh this

* It muſt appear ſomewhat extraordinary, that when the principaland heavieſt charge brought againſt me, was the diſobedience of orders, theſe orders that it ſeems I diſobeyed, ſhould never have been attempted to be aſcertained to the Court by the proper authority, but were left to the conjecture and wild conſtructions of thoſe who might take the trouble to gueſs, and to the hardineſs of thoſe who might chuſe to invent.

end;

end—it is clear that I did not wiſh, or give any orders for a retrograde manœuvre from the firſt point of action, and that, even when I was informed of our left being abandoned, the retreat, however neceſſary, was, I am aſhamed to own it, done contrary to my orders, and contrary to my intentions. I ſay I am aſhamed to own it; for if the Britiſh cavalry had vigorouſly puſhed on our right, they might have turned our flank, taken us in reverſe, and we had been loſt. There is one ſuppoſition, and indeed only one (and that, for the General's honour, is too monſtrous to be admitted), that would render me criminal; it is, that he had poſitively commanded me, that after the attack commenced, whatever were my circumſtances, or whatever were my numbers, from thence I ſhould not, from any conſideration, recede an inch. Now, if ſuch I had conceived to have been his intention, ſo great is my opinion of the valour, zeal, and obedience of the troops, and ſo well I think I know myſelf, that I do really believe we ſhould all have periſhed on the firſt ſpot; but I never had, and it is almoſt impoſſible I ſhould have, an idea that ſuch was his plan; and it is evident that it was not; conſequently, in ſeeking a better poſition in our rear, I could be guilty of no diſobedience. Upon the whole, admitting the orders I received to have been (as it has been inſinuated) to attack, without any conſideration of the force, or ſituation of the

enemy, they were as fully and rigidly obeyed, circumſtanced as I was, as it was poſſible for any human officer to obey orders of ſuch a nature. In the next place, if the General's inſtructions are conſtrued to be, that I ſhould find the means of bringing on a general engagement, it is difficult to imagine a more efficacious method than that which was purſued. But I muſt here beg leave to obſerve, that thoſe gentlemen who talk ſo familiarly of bringing on a general engagement, muſt underſtand themſelves as little as they can be underſtood by others. To bring on a general engagement, is not always in our power. An enemy of any capacity will take ſuch meaſures as not to be under the neceſſity of fighting againſt his inclinations; and, however it may be received, I cannot help being perſuaded, that ſome of the Britiſh generals are not deficient in this great eſſential. Clinton, Grey, and Erſkine, were bred up, and conſidered no deſpicable officers in one of the beſt ſchools of Europe. Prince Ferdinand and his nephew, the hereditary prince, think, it is ſaid, and do moſt certainly ſpeak very honourably of them. Now, although it muſt be ſuppoſed that men of this ſtamp will make it a rule to retain the power of refuſing a general engagement, there are ſtrong grounds for believing, that on this day (whether from our manœuvres, or from the often ungovernable impetuoſity of the Britiſh troops) they would have been put under the neceſſity of committing

committing the moſt conſiderable part of their army to the deciſion of arms, if the opportunity on our ſide had been availed of. They were tempted to paſs three of the great ravines which traverſe the plain; and there is room to flatter ourſelves they would have paſſed the laſt, if they had been wiſely ſuffered. They would then have been actually in our power; that is, they would have been under the neceſſity of fighting againſt unequal force; for they had ſcarcely the poſſibility of retreating, and it was at our option to engage whatever part of the army we thought proper, whether the whole, one half, or only a third, as they had immediately emerged from the ravine, and before they could have had time to develope and form; our rear was, on the contrary, quite clear and unembarraſſed, and were, in fact, entire maſters of our manœuvres; at the ſame time, Colonel Morgan, and the militia on the flanks, by this ſeparation of the major part of the enemy's army to ſo great a diſtance from their baggage, and the body covering the baggage, would have had a much fairer opportunity of making their reſpective attacks, than if they had remained more compact: thus, if any thing is meant by finding the means of bringing on a general engagement, it was done, and in the moſt ſalutary manner, to the utmoſt extent of human poſſibility.

We come now to the laſt ſuppoſition, *viz.* That the orders I received (which in fact is the truth, unleſs they had no meaning at all) were to annoy the enemy, ſtrike a partial blow, but without riſking any thing of great importance; or, in other terms, to act in a great meaſure diſcretionally *. And here I defy the moſt acute military critic of the world, to point out a more effectual method than what was purſued; for, had we taken poſt on the hither or weſtern margin of the firſt ravine, as General Wayne ſeems to think we ought to have done (and admitting that in this poſition our flanks could have been ſecure, which they certainly were not), or on the margin of any of the other ravines in our rear, the laſt not excepted, if the laſt had been tenable, how could we poſſibly have annoyed the enemy, or ſtruck a partial blow? The conſequence would at moſt have been this, that we might have remained gazing on and cannonading each other for ſome time, and the moment they choſe to retire, they could have done it at their leiſure, and with impunity; for, by all the rules of war, and what is more, by all the rules of common ſenſe, we could not have ventured to purſue them, becauſe we ſhould have put, if

* It muſt be remarked, that diſobedience to diſcretionary orders is, *prima facie*, a glaring abſurdity; it is an impoſſibility; and yet it has been endeavoured to prove me guilty of this Impoſſibility.

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not impracticable, at leaſt very dangerous, defiles in our rear; and if they had turned back upon us, we ſhould have been effectually in their power, unleſs we could have inſured victory to ourſelves with very unequal numbers; but, by drawing them over all the ravines, they were as much in our power; beſides, it muſt occur to every man who is not deſtitute of common reaſon, that the further they were from their ſhips and the heights of Middletown, the point of their ſecurity, the more they were (to uſe the military language) in the air.

To theſe conſiderations may be added, that the ground we found them on, was extremely favourable to the nature of their troops; and that we drew them into, as favourable to ours. The ground we found them on, was calculated for cavalry, in which they comparatively abounded; and that which we drew them into, as much the reverſe. In fine, admitting that the order I received was any one of the three referred to, and ſuppoſing we had been as perfectly acquainted with every yard of the country as we were utterly ignorant of it, I am happy to be able conſciouſly to pronounce, that were the tranſactions of that day to paſs over again, there is no one ſtep I took which I would not again take. There is no one thing I did which does not demonſtrate that I conducted myſelf as an obedient, prudent,

and, let me add, ſpirited officer *; and I do from my ſoul ſincerely wiſh, that a court of inquiry, compoſed of the ableſt ſoldiers in the world, were to ſit in judgment, and enjoined to canvaſs with the utmoſt rigour every circumſtance of my conduct on this day, and on their deciſion my reputation or infamy to be for ever eſtabliſhed. There is, however, I confeſs, the ſtrongeſt reaſon to believe (but for this omiſſion I am no ways reſponſible) that, had a proper knowledge of the theatre of action been obtained, as it might, and ought to have been, its nature and different ſituations, with their references ſtudied, and, in conſequence, a general plan of action wiſely concerted and digeſted, a moſt important, perhaps a deciſive blow might have been ſtruck, but not by adopting any one meaſure that any one of my cenſurers has been fortunate enough to think of. I have already ſaid, that had we remained on the ground where the attack commenced, or on the margin of the firſt ravine, which General Wayne ſeems to think was a good poſition, we ſhould probably have been loſt; and I believe I may ſafely aſſert, that had we attached ourſelves to the ſecond poſi-

* This ſtyle, on ordinary occaſions, would appear a moſt intolerable and diſguſting gaſconade; but when a man's conduct has been ſo groſsly miſrepreſented and calumniated, as mine has been, the ſtrongeſt language is juſtifiable in his defence.

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tion, in front of Carr's houſe, reconnoitred by Monſ. Du Portail, on the hill which Colonel Hamilton was ſo ſtrongly prepoſſeſſed in favour of, and allowing our flanks to be ſecure in any of theſe poſitions, which it is evident they were not, ſecurity is the only thing we could have had to boaſt of. The ſecurity of the enemy would have been equally great; but any poſſibility of annoying them we certainly had not. I aſſert, then, that if we had acted wiſely, it was our buſineſs to let one, two, or three thouſand paſs the laſt ravine, in the rear of which, and on the eminence pointed out to me by Mr. Wikoff, and to General Waſhington by Colonel Ray *, the main body of our army was poſted, freſh, and unfatigued; whereas thoſe of the enemy were extremely harraſſed, or, indeed, worn down to ſo low a degree of debility, that had they once paſſed, they had little chance of repaſſing; the ground was commanding, and, to us, in all reſpects advantageous. A ſort of natural glacis, extending itſelf in our front, from the creſt of the eminence quite down to the ravine, over which there was only one narrowed paſs, the plain ſo narrowed as to give no play to the manœuvres of their cavalry; and at two or three hundred yards diſtance in the rear, a ſpace of ground moſt happily adapted to the arrangement

* To theſe two gentlemen not a little credit for the ſucceſs of the 28th of June is due.

of a ſecond line *. This ground, from the nature of its front, is almoſt entirely protected from the annoyance of the enemy's cannon; and, of courſe, well calculated for the reſpiration of a body of troops, ſuch as my detachment was, fatigued, but not diſpirited by action, and the exceſſive heat of the weather; here they might have taken breath; here they might have been refreſhed, and, in a very ſhort time, refitted at leaſt to act as a line of ſupport, which was all that, in theſe circumſtances, could be neceſſary. I propoſed to the General to form them as ſuch, but was precipitately ordered, and, I confeſs, in a manner that extremely ruffled me, to three miles diſtance in the rear.

Thus, in my opinion, was a moſt glorious opportunity loſt; for what followed on both ſides was only a diſtant, unmeaning, inefficacious cannonade; and what has been ſo magnificently ſtiled a purſuit, was no more than taking up the ground which the Britiſh troops could not poſſibly, and were not (their principle being retreat) intereſted to maintain.

* It may beobjected, that a part of my detachment there, under Scott and Maxwell, had already filed off in the rear, but they might eaſily have been brought up. It is evident they might, as not long afterwards a part of them were ordered, and did march up. It muſt be obſerved, that I myſelf was totally ignorant that any part of them had filed off; but thoſe I had with me would have formed a very reſpectable line of reſerve.

P. S. A thouſand wicked and low artifices, during my trial, were uſed to render me unpopular. One of the principal was, to throw out that I had endeavoured, on every occaſion, to depreciate the American valour, and the character of their troops. There never was a more impudent falſehood; I appeal to my letters addreſſed to Mr. Burgoyne—to the whole tenor of my converſation, both previous and ſubſequent to the commencement of the preſent war, and to all my publications. It is true, I have often heavily lamented, as to me it appears, the defective conſtitution of the army; but I have ever had the higheſt opinion of the courage and other good qualities of the Americans as ſoldiers; and the proofs that my opinion was juſt, are numerous and ſubſtantial.

To begin with the affair of Bunker's-hill. I may venture to pronounce that there never was a more dangerous, a more execrable ſituation, than theſe brave and unfortunate men (if thoſe who die in the glorious cauſe of Liberty can be termed unfortunate) were placed in; they had to encounter with a body of troops, both in point of ſpirit and diſcipline, not to be ſurpaſſed in the whole world, headed by an officer of experience, intrepidity, coolneſs, and deciſion. The Americans were compoſed, in part, of raw lads and old men, half armed, with no practice or diſcipline, commanded without order, and God knows by whom. Yet what was the event? It is known to the world,

world, that the Britiſh troops, notwithſtanding their addreſs and gallantry, were moſt ſeverely handled, and almoſt defeated *.

The troops under the command of General Montgomery, in his expedition againſt St. John's, Chambly, and into Canada, who were chiefly compoſed of native Americans, as they were from the Eaſtern State, diſplayed, by his own account, in a letter I received from that illuſtrious young man, not only great courage, but zeal and enterprize.

The aſſault under Arnold, on the lower town of Quebec, was an attempt that would have ſtartled the moſt approved veterans; and, if they miſcarried, it cannot be attributed to a deficiency of valour, but to want of proper information of the circumſtances of the place.

The defence of Sullivan's-Iſland, by Colonel Moultrie, might be termed an ordeal. The garriſon, both men and officers, entirely raw; the fire furious, and of a duration almoſt beyond example; their ſituation extremely critical and dangerous, for the rear was in a manner open; and, if General Clinton could, as it was expected,

* The Colonels Stark, Preſcot, Little, Gardner, Read, Nixon, and the two Brewers, were entitled to immortal honour for their action on that day; but, according to the uſual juſtice of the writers of newſpapers and Gazettes, their names have ſcarcely been mentioned on the occaſion.

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have landed on the iſland, there were no reſources but in the laſt deſperate reſolutions.

With reſpect to the tranſactions on York and Long-Iſland, I muſt be ſilent, as I am ignorant of them; but, from ſome obſervations after I joined the army, I have reaſon to think the fault could not have been in the men, or in the common bulk of officers.

Even the unhappy buſineſs of Fort Waſhington, which was attended with ſuch abominable conſequences, and which brought the affairs of America to the brink of ruin, when the circumſtances are well conſidered, did honour to the officers and men, devoted to the defence of this worthleſs and ridiculous favourite.

The defence of Red-Bank, by Colonel Green, and Mud-Iſland, by Colonel Smith, forced a confeſſion, even from the moſt determined infidels on this point, of the Britiſh officers, to the honour of American valour. I have often heard them allow, that the defence of theſe two places *were really handſome things—that no men could have done better;* which, from unwilling mouths, is no ſmall panegyrick.

The victory gained by Stark, at Bennington, and the capture of Mr. Burgoyne's whole army, by Gates and Arnold, are, above all, convincing arguments of what excellent ingredients, in all reſpects, the force of America is compoſed.

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The detail of what paſſed lately on Rhode-Iſland is not yet come to my knowledge; but, from all I have been able to collect, the men and officers exhibited great valour and facility, as did their General, diſcretion, calmneſs, and good conduct. Upon the whole, I am warranted to ſay, what I always thought, that no diſgrace or calamity has fallen on the arms of America through the whole courſe of the war, but what muſt be attributed to ſome other cauſe than to the want of valour, of diſpoſition to obedience, or to any other military defect in the men, or the general maſs of their officers in their different ranks; and I ſolemnly declare, that was it at my choice to ſelect from all the nations of the earth to form an excellent and perfect army, I would, without heſitation, give the preference to the Americans. By publiſhing this opinion, I cannot incur the ſuſpicion of paying my court to their vanity, as it is notoriouſly the language I have ever held.

I have been told, that one of the crimes imputed to me, is my entertaining a high opinion of the Britiſh troops. If this is a crime, I am ready to acknowledge it. There were times, I confeſs, when the promulgation of ſuch an opinion would have been impolitic, and even criminal; but in theſe times, it is notorious to the world that my conduct was the reverſe. Every thing I wrote, every thing I ſaid, tended to inſpire that confidence in their own ſtrength, which

which it was thought the Americans wanted; and it is believed, that what I ſaid, and what I wrote, had no inconſiderable effect; but now, circumſtanced as we are, I cannot conceive the danger, or even impropriety, in ſpeaking of them as they deſerve, particularly as their excellence redounds to the honour of America. I could not help, whilſt I was priſoner, being aſtoniſhed at the bad policy and ſtupidity of ſome of the Britiſh officers, who made it their conſtant buſineſs to depreciate the character of the Americans in point of courage and ſenſe. I have often expreſſed my aſtoniſhment, making a very natural obſervation to them, that if the perſuaſion of their opponents' cowardice and folly were eſtabliſhed in the world, the great merits they themſelves pretended to muſt, at the ſame time, be utterly deſtroyed. That I have a very great opinion of the Britiſh troops, I make no ſcruple to confeſs; and unleſs I had this opinion of them, I do not ſee what ground I could have for my eulogiums on American valour. This is a truth, ſimple and clear as the day; but be it as it will, it is now moſt certain, let the courage and diſcipline of the Britiſh troops be as great as imagination can paint, there is at preſent no danger from either the one or the other. The dangers that now threaten, are from other quarters; from the want of temper, moderation, œconomy, wiſdom, and deciſion amongſt ourſelves; from a childiſh credulity; and,

in conſequence of it, a promptneſs to commit acts of the higheſt injuſtice on thoſe who have deſerved beſt at the hands of the community; but above all, from the direct oppoſites to thoſe qualities, virtues, and principles, without which it is impoſſible that the mode of government eſtabliſhed ſhould be ſupported for the tenth part of a century. Theſe, I aſſert, are now the proper objects of our apprehenſions, and not any real or ſuppoſed excellence in the armies of Great Britain, who has infinitely more reaſon to fear for her own independence, than to hope for the ſubjugation of yours.

General Clinton's letter, which has juſt appeared, has ſo wonderful an accord with the above eſſay, that I make no doubt but that ſome acute gentleman may inſinuate that it furniſhed the hint: but I can appeal to more than fifty gentlemen of this city, or officers of the army, to whom it was read, previous to the publication of General Clinton's letter, whether a ſingle ſyllable has been added or varied, the concluſion of the poſtſcript excepted, which has no reference to the affair of Monmouth.

IT was a conſiderable time before Congreſs took the General's trial under their conſideration, during which our unfortunate hero continued ſmarting

ſmarting under the frowns of fortune and the malignant tongues of men; and to add to his ſufferings in this ſtate of ſuſpenſe, he received a letter from Colonel Laurens, one of General Waſhington's aids, informing him, "that, in contempt of decency and truth, he had publicly abuſed General Waſhington in the groſſeſt terms;" that, "the relation in which he ſtood to him, forbade him to paſs ſuch conduct unnoticed; he therefore demanded the ſatisfaction which he was entitled to; and deſired, that as ſoon as General Lee ſhould think himſelf at liberty, he would appoint time and place, and name his weapons." Without heſitation this was accepted; and the General made choice of a brace of piſtols, declining the ſmall ſword, becauſe he was rather in a weak ſtate of body, having lately received a fall from a horſe, and alſo taken a quantity of medicine to baffle a fit of the gout, which he apprehended. They met according to appointment, and diſcharged their piſtols, when General Lee received a ſlight wound in his ſide; and it hath been ſaid, that on this occaſion, he diſplayed the greateſt fortitude and courage.

Shortly after, the proceedings of the Court Martial on his trial came under conſideration in Congreſs, and produced debates for ſeveral evenings; but, finally, the ſentence was confirmed. The General was much diſſatisfied with it, and his mind extremely imbittered againſt one of the mem-

bers, Mr. William Henry Drayton, of South Carolina. This gentleman's conduct was vituperated by Lee in the ſevereſt language, becauſe he oppoſed in Congreſs a diviſion of the ſeveral charges brought againſt him, but argued and inſiſted upon lumping them all together, to be decided by one queſtion. In this he was ingeniouſly and warmly oppoſed by a very amiable and worthy gentleman, Mr. William Paca, a late governor of Maryland. Here we muſt obſerve, that prior to this, Mr. Drayton was by no means one of the General's favourites; he had taken ſome unneceſſary liberties with his character, in a charge which he delivered as chief juſtice to a grand jury in Charles-Town, South Carolina. His temper thus exaſperated, he could no longer refrain from emphatically expreſſing his ſenſe of the injuries he had received from Mr. Drayton. Theſe were delivered, intermixed with threatning language, to Mr. Hutſon, his colleague and friend, who communicated the ſame. A correſpondence enſued, ſo remarkable for its poignancy of reply, as may be worth preſerving in theſe memoirs.

SIR,

SIR, Philadelphia, Feb. 3d, 1779.

MY colleague, Mr. Hutſon, hath this day mentioned to me, a converſation you had with him, in which you expreſſed yourſelf as injured by a miſrepreſentation of your conduct immediately preceding your captivity by the enemy, in a charge I had the honour to deliver, as Chief Juſtice, to the Grand Jury of Charleſtown, South Carolina.

I muſt inform you, Sir, that, on the one hand, I have been repeatedly aſſured the repreſentation I then made was a true one; and that, on the other hand, I have alſo been aſſured, that it was not founded on fact; and that, immediately upon this latter aſſurance in South Carolina, I took that ſtep which was moſt likely to lead me to a certainty on the ſubject, with the avowed deſign, that if I had injured your reputation, I might be enabled to make the moſt ample reparation; but I did not receive the neceſſary materials. Thoſe ſentiments of propriety which dictated the firſt advance on my part then, to acquire them now dictate a like conduct when another opportunity ſeems to open itſelf for my arriving at truth, and to do that juſtice which the caſe may require. And I do aſſure you, that if I can be enabled to declare, that you did not violate the orders of the commander in chief, reſpecting your junction

with him, when he had retreated to the Delaware in 1776, I ſhall not only do ſo in the moſt pointed terms, but beg your pardon for having, through error and miſrepreſentation, publiſhed the contrary.

To this purpoſe, I wrote to Major Euſtace on the 6th of January 1778, when I was in Charlestown, and had no proſpect of coming to this part of the Continent; and a copy of the correſpondence between him and myſelf on the occaſion I will lay before you, if you deſire to ſee it.

Thoſe principles of honour which muſt make you feel an injury, make me feel even an idea of of having done an injury, and impels me to make a reparation where it is due.

I am, Sir,

Your moſt obedient Servant,

WM. HENRY DRAYTON.

Major Gen. Lee.

SIR, Philadelphia, Feb. 5th, 1779.

I SHOULD have done myſelf the honour of anſwering your letter yeſterday, but was prevented by a variety of buſineſs. If I have violated any orders of the commander in chief, to him, and the Congreſs only, am I reſponſible; but

but certainly am not amenable to the tribunal of Mr. William Henry Drayton. I ſhall therefore remain entirely indifferent whether you are pleaſed to think or dream that I deſignedly threw myſelf into the hands of the enemy, or whether I was not taken by a concurrence of unfortunate circumſtances, ſuch as happen in the courſe of all wars. The only remark I ſhall make on your extraordinary requiſition, that I ſhould clear myſelf on this point to you ſimply, Mr. William Henry Drayton, whom I conſider but as a mere common member of Congreſs, is, that you pay a very ill compliment to the General. You muſt ſuppoſe him either miſerably deficient in underſtanding, or in integrity as a ſervant of the public, when you ſuppoſe that he would ſuffer a man, for a ſingle day, to act as his ſecond in command, whom he knows to be guilty of ſuch abominable military treaſon. This ingenious ſuppoſition, therefore, is, in my opinion, a greater affront to the General than to myſelf.

I am ſincerely concerned that my friend Euſtace ſhould have degraded himſelf ſo far as to enter into any diſcuſſion of this matter with Mr. William Henry Drayton; and I ſhall reprimand him for not underſtanding his own dignity better. I ſhall now only take the trouble of adding, that if you can reconcile your conduct in ſtepping out of the road, (as I am informed you did in your

charge to the grand jury), to aggravate the calamities of an unhappy man, who had ſacrificed every thing to the cauſe of your country, and, as he then conceived, to the rights of mankind; who had ſacrificed an ample, at leaſt an eaſy and independent fortune, the moſt honorable connections, great military pretenſions, his friends and relations: I ſay, if you can reconcile your ſtepping out of the road to aggravate the calamities of a man who had notoriouſly made theſe ſacrifices, and who, at the very time you was diſplaying your generous eloquence, had no leſs than five centinels on his perſon, and was ſuffering extremely in body and mind — If you can, I repeat, reconcile ſuch a procedure to common humanity, common ſenſe, or common decency, you muſt ſtill be a more ſingular perſonage than the public at preſent conſider you.

I am, Sir,

Your moſt obedient,

Humble Servant,

CHARLES LEE.

William Henry Drayton, Eſq.

SIR,

SIR, Philadelphia, Feb. 8th, 1779.

AT nine o'clock laſt night, I received yours of the fifth inſtant, in anſwer to mine of the third. But, as I have neither time or inclination to enter into a competition, whether Mr. Charles Lee, or Mr. William Henry Drayton, can raiſe the moſt ingenious ſuppoſition, ſay the keeneſt thing, and pen the moſt finiſhed period with parentheſis; nor ambition to correſpond with you in your ſimple character of Mr. Charles Lee, whom I cannot conſider but as legally diſgraced for being guilty of abominable military treaſon againſt a community of the moſt liberal, juſt, and generous, and, I muſt add, merciful people on the face of the globe: I ſay, perfectly ſatisfied with my ſimple character of Mr. William Henry Drayton, "a mere common member of Congreſs," and "a mere Chief Juſtice of South Carolina," I ſhall do myſelf the honour, out of breath as I am with parentheſes, to make only one obſervation in reply, abſolutely terminating the correſpondence on my part, That I verily believe we equally remain entirely indifferent with reſpect to what either is "pleaſed to think or dream." And now, finally taking my leave of Mr. Charles Lee, with common decency from reſpect to my ſimple character,

I ſubſcribe myſelf, Sir,

Your moſt obedient Servant,

WM. HENRY DRAYTON.

Major Charles Lee.

SIR, Philadelphia, March 15th, 1779.

AS I have now ſettled all my affairs, and as I am given to underſtand that you probably may ſoon ſet out for South Carolina, I take the liberty of addreſſing this letter to you, which is to cloſe our correſpondence for ever. Until very lately, I was taught to conſider you only as a fantaſtic, pompous *dramatis perſona*, a *mere malvolio*, never to be ſpoke or thought of but for the ſake of laughter; and when the humour for laughter ſubſided, never to be ſpoke or thought of more. But I find I was miſtaken; I find that you are as malignant a ſcoundrel, as you are univerſally allowed to be a ridiculous and diſguſting coxcomb.

You are pleaſed to ſay, that I am legally diſgraced; all that I ſhall ſay in reply, is, that I am able confidently to pronounce, that every man of rank in the whole army, every man on the Continent, who had read the proceedings of the Court Martial (perhaps indeed I might except Mr. Penn of North Carolina, and Dr. Scudder of the Jerſeys, with a few others about their ſize in underſtanding), is of the opinion, that the ſtigma is not on him on whom the ſentence was paſſed, but on thoſe who paſſed this abſurd, iniquitous, and prepoſterous ſentence; for, to be juſt, I do not believe you quite blockhead enough to think the charge had a ſhadow of report; and if, by ſome wonderful metamorphoſis, you

ſhould

ſhould become an honeſt man, you will confeſs it. As to the confirmation of this curious ſentence, I do not conceive myſelf at liberty to make any comments on it, as it is an affair of Congreſs, for which body I ever had, and ought to have, a profound reſpect. I ſhall only lament that they are diſgraced by ſo foul a member as Mr. William Henry Drayton. You tell me the Americans are the moſt merciful people on the face of the earth: I think ſo too; and the ſtrongeſt inſtance of it is, that they did not long ago hang up you, and every advocate for the ſtamp-act; and do not flatter yourſelf, that the preſent virtuous airs of patriotiſm you may give yourſelf, and your hard laboured letters to the Commiſſioners and the King, will ever waſh away the ſtain. If you think the terms I make uſe of harſh or unmerited, my friend Major Edwards is commiſſioned to point out your remedy.

CHARLES LEE.

William Henry Drayton, Eſq.

THIS correſpondence, which produced nothing but inkſhed, being finiſhed, the General retired to his plantation in Berkeley county, Virginia,

where, ſtill irritated with the ſcurrilous attacks he had met with from ſeveral writers and others in Philadelphia, he could not forbear giving vent to the bitterneſs of his feelings; and in this miſanthropic diſpoſition, compoſed a ſet of queries, which he ſtyled Political and Military. Theſe he ſent by one of his aids to the printers of Philadelphia, for publication; but they thought it imprudent to admit them into their papers, as General Waſhington poſſeſſed the hearts and admiration of every one: he therefore applied to the editor of the Maryland Journal at Baltimore, who indulged him with their inſertion. The queries no ſooner made their appearance, but a conſiderable diſturbance took place among the citizens of Baltimore: the printer was called upon for the author, and obliged to give up his name. General Reed, then Preſident of the State of Pennſylvania, conceiving himſelf to be injured, publiſhed the ſubſequent piece for his juſtification.

THE aſperſions which have been thrown on my own character from the preſs, I have ever deſpiſed too much to take the leaſt notice of them; but when a moſt valuable and amiable character is attacked through me, I think it my duty to remark

remark it, and guard the public from error, even in opinion.

In a ſet of queries, deſigned to leſſen the character of General Waſhington, in a late paper, I am alluded to ſo particularly as not to be miſtaken, and quoted, as having furniſhed evidences under my own hand, that General Waſhington was not the diſtinguiſhed character the addreſſes of the Council of this State had repreſented; from which an inference is to be drawn prejudicial to the General in point of ability, and the Council in conſiſtency, ſo far as I had any ſhare in thoſe addreſſes. This inſinuation I therefore think it my duty to contradict; and, though the ſanctity of private and confidential correſpondence has been groſsly violated on this occaſion, I ſhould have paſſed it by, if the fact had not been as groſsly miſ-ſtated.

The only ground on which this inſinuation can be made, aroſe from the following circumſtance: In the fall, 1776, I was extremely anxious that Fort Waſhington ſhould be evacuated; there was a difference in opinion among thoſe whom the General conſulted, and he heſitated more than I ever knew him on any other occaſion, and more than I thought the public ſervice admitted. Knowing that General Lee's opinion would be a great ſupport to mine, I wrote to him from Hackinſack, ſtating the caſe, and my reaſons, and, I think, urging him to join me in ſentiment

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at the cloſe of my letter; and, alluding to the particular ſubject then before me, to the beſt of my recollection, I added this ſentence: "With a thouſand good and great qualities, there is a want of deciſion to complete the perfect military character."

Upon this ſentence, or one to this effect, wrote in haſte, in full confidence, and in great anxiety for the event, is this ungenerous ſentiment introduced into the world. The event but too fully juſtified my anxiety; for the fort was ſummoned that very day, and ſurrendered the next. I abſolutely deny that there is any other ground but this letter; and if there is, let it be produced. I have now only to add, that though General Waſhington ſoon after, by an accident, knew of this circumſtance, it never leſſened the friendſhip which ſubſiſted between us. He had too much greatneſs of mind to ſuppoſe himſelf incapable of miſtakes, or to diſlike a faithful friend, who ſhould note an error with ſuch circumſtances of reſpect, and on ſuch an occaſion. I have ſince been with this great and good man, for ſuch he is, at very critical moments; and I hope I ſhall not be ſuſpected of unbecoming adulation, when I aſſure my countrymen, (ſo far as my opinion is thought of any conſequence), that they may repoſe themſelves in perfect confidence on his prudence and judgment, which are equal to any circumſtances;—and that repeated experi-

ence

ence of the value of his opinions, have inſpired him with more dependence on them than his modeſty and diffidence would in ſome caſes formerly admit. Time will ſhew, whether his enemies will not find themſelves diſappointed in their attempts to ſhake the public confidence, and leſſen a character of ſo much worth, to gratify private, violent reſentments.

JOSEPH REED.

Philadelphia, July 14th, 1779.

TO judge of the propriety of General Reed's performance, it will be neceſſary to refer the reader to his letter in page , which is a true copy from the original, in his own hand writing.

Lee remained at his retreat, living in a ſtyle peculiar to himſelf, in a houſe more like a barn than a palace. Glaſs windows and plaiſtering would have been luxurious extravagance, and his furniture conſiſted of a very few neceſſary articles; indeed he was now ſo ruſticated, that he could have lived in a tub with Diogenes: however he had got a few ſelect valuable authors, and theſe enabled him to paſs away his time in this

 obſcurity.

obſcurity. In the fall, 1782, he began to be weary with the ſameneſs of his ſituation; and experiencing his unfitneſs for the management of country buſineſs, he came to a determination to ſell his eſtate, and procure a little ſettlement near ſome ſea-port town, where he might learn what the world was doing, and enjoy the converſation of mankind.

His farm, though an excellent tract of land, rather brought him in debt at the end of the year, and added to the difficulties he laboured under. It is no wonder, then, he was inclined to relinquiſh his preſent ſyſtem of life. He left Berkeley, and came to Baltimore, where he ſtaid near a week with ſome old friends, and then took his leave for Philadelphia.

It is preſumed he now found a difference between a *General in command*, and *one* deſtitute of every thing but the name; for we do not find him entertained at the houſe of any private citizen. He took lodgings at an inn, the ſign of the Conveſtigoe waggon, in market-ſtreet. After being three or four days in the city, he was taken with a ſhivering, the forerunner of a fever, which put a period to his exiſtence, October 2d 1782.

A friend of the Editor's was at the inn when he took his departure from this world. The ſervants informed him that General Lee was dying; upon which he went into the room; he was then

ſtruggling

ſtruggling with the king of terrors, and ſeemed to have loſt his ſenſes; the laſt words he heard him ſpeak were, "Stand by me, my brave grenadiers!"

The citizens of Philadelphia, calling to remembrance his former ſervices, appeared to be much affected at his death. His funeral was attended with a very large concourſe of people, the clergy of different denominations, his excellency the preſident of Congreſs, the preſident, and ſome members of the council of the commonwealth of Pennſylvania, his excellency the miniſter plenipotentiary of France, M. Marbois ſecretary to the embaſſy, the miniſter of finance, General baron de Viominil, duke de Lauſam, the miniſter of war, and ſeveral other officers of diſtinction both in the French and American army.

From what hath been obſerved in theſe memoirs, we may with juſtice affirm, that General Lee was a great and ſincere friend to the rights and liberties of mankind, and that it was this grand principle which led him to take part on the ſide of America. It appears, that, from his youth, he was bred up with the higheſt regard for the noble ſentiments of freedom; his education and reading ſtrengthened them; the hiſtorians and orators of Greece and Rome, with whom he was conſiderably converſant, added to the ſacred flame; and his travels in many parts of the world did not tend to diminiſh it.

When a boy, he was ſent to an academy in Switzerland,

zerland, and he has frequently ſaid to his friends, that he was there ſtruck with the general happineſs, affluence and eaſe diffuſed throughout that country, notwithſtanding its natural diſadvantages of ſoil and climate. In one of his letters, he expreſſes himſelf in this manner: "When I was quite young in Switzerland, I could not help comparing the robuſt well clothed commonalty of this country, with their miſerable neighbours of France, a ſpot upon which Nature ſeems to have taken pains to confer her favours. To France, Nature has given the moſt fruitful ſoil, which produceth not only every neceſſary, but every luxury of life. She has given to its people a lively, active, enterpriſing genius, a climate upon the whole the beſt of the world—To the Swiſs, ſhe bequeathed rocks, mountains, and, as it is thought, very inferior mental faculties; and yet the Swiſs are rich, happy and reſpectable; the French, ſtarving and contemptible. In Italy, the contraſt betwixt the free, and thoſe who are not free, is ſtill more remarkable; I know very well, that the republics of Genoa and Venice are not in general allowed to to be free ſtates. Monſieur Monteſquieu has demonſtrated that they are not free; but there is undoubtedly ſome excellence in them, which has eſcaped this wiſe man—ſhall I beg leave to hazard a conjecture? They have no king: They have no court."

The General had read both men and books; his reading

reading and travels were extenſive, and of courſe his manners eaſy and free of embarraſſment; ſo that he was frequently accuſtomed to deliver his ſentiments and feelings without diſguiſe, from the firſt impreſſions, according to the nature of the objects which preſented.

This liberality of conduct, and openneſs of diſpoſition, in a young country, cauſed many to doubt of his belief in revealed religion; the common people, at laſt, conſidered him as an atheiſt; while thoſe of a higher claſs were more indulgent to his principles. If we were to form a judgement on this ſubject, from his private correſpondence, we ſhould not accuſe him as totally deſtitute of religious notions, for it appears that he entertained ſome grand and ſublime ideas of the Supreme Being, and was ſtrongly perſuaded that no ſociety could exiſt without religion.

He has often aſſerted, that he thought the Chriſtian religion, unincumbered of its ſophiſtications, the moſt excellent, as comprehending the moſt divine ſyſtem of ethics, conſequently of a divine nature; but at the ſame time he diſapproved of the length and tedioùſneſs of the liturgies of the various ſects. As to the dogmas, he conſidered many of them abſurd, if not impious, and derogatory to the honour, dignity and wiſdom of the Godhead, or omniſcient ruler and moderator of the infinity of worlds that ſurround us.

The General, in his perſon, was of a genteel make,

make, and rather above the middle ſize; his remarkable aquiline noſe rendered his face ſomewhat diſagreeable. He was maſter of a moſt genteel addreſs; but, in the latter part of his life, became exceſſively negligent of the graces, both in his garb and behaviour. A talent for repartee, united with a quickneſs of penetration, created him many enemies. A character ſo eccentric and ſingular, could not fail of attracting the popular attention. His *ſmall friends* frequently paſſed ſevere criticiſms on his words and actions. Narrowly watched, every little ſlip or failure was noticed, and repreſented to his diſadvantage. The objections to his moral conduct were numerous, and his great fondneſs for dogs brought on him the diſlike and frowns of the fair ſex: for the General would permit his canine adherents to follow him to the parlour, the bed-room, and ſometimes they might be ſeen on a chair next his elbow at table.

As the ladies are commonly againſt any tranſgreſſion of the laws of decency and cleanlineſs, it is no wonder a ſhyneſs commenced between them and the General. This hath given ſome perſons an idea of his being averſe to women, which in reality was not the caſe; for his life and poſthumous papers will furniſh ſeveral examples of his early attachment to them; and a letter to him, from a Britiſh officer in Montreal, in 1774, convinces the Editor of his having been ſuſceptible of the ſame feelings with other men, and of his having frequently

quently indulged himſelf in gallantry with the ladies. "During the winter," ſays this officer, who was the General's intimate friend, "I took a trip to Quebec, where I paſſed ſeveral agreeable days with *your queen*. I delivered your compliments to her, and ſhe enquired particularly about you, deſiring me to return them moſt ſincerely whenever I wrote.—She is the ſame amiable creature, whoſe diſpoſition neither climate nor country can alter, and as ſtrongly attached to you as ever." And his letter from Warſaw to Louiſa, demonſtrates the ſame fact.

There is great probability the General was the firſt perſon who ſuggeſted the idea that America ought to declare herſelf independent. When he was ſent by the commander in chief to New-York, he behaved with ſuch activity and ſpirit, infuſing the ſame into the minds of his troops and the people, that Mr. John Adams ſaid, "a happier expedition never was projected; and that the whole Whig world were bleſſing him for it." About this time Doctor Franklin gave Mr. Thomas Paine, the celebrated author of *Common Senſe*, an introductory letter to him, in which were theſe words: "The bearer, Mr. Paine, has requeſted a line of introduction to you, which I give the more willingly, as I know his ſentiments are not very different from yours." A few days after, the Doctor writes again, "There is a kind of ſuſpenſe in men's minds here at preſent, waiting toſee what

terms will be offered from England—I expect none that we can accept; and when that is generally ſeen, we ſhall be more unanimous and more deciſive. Then your propoſed ſolemn league and covenant will go better down, and perhaps moſt of *your other ſtrong meaſures* adopted." In a letter to Edward Rutlege, Eſq. in the ſpring of 1776, then a member of the Continental Congreſs, the General thus expreſſes himſelf. "As your affairs proſper, the timidity of the ſenatorial part of the continent, great and ſmall, grows and extends itſelf. By the Eternal G—d, unleſs you *declare yourſelves independent*, eſtabliſh a more certain and fixed legiſlature than that of a temporary courteſy of the people, you richly deſerve to be enſlaved, and I think far from impoſſible that it ſhould be your lot; as, without a more ſyſtematic intercourſe with France and Holland, we cannot, we have not the means of carrying on the war." There are other epiſtles of his, of a ſimilar ſpirit and diction.

The more we inveſtigate the General's character and conduct, the more conſpicuous his ſervices will appear. In the infancy of the American diſpute, we all find him continually ſuggeſting and forwarding plans for the defence of the country; and though he was a profeſſed enemy to a ſtanding army, he was always recommending a well regulated militia. This he conſidered as the natural ſtrength of a country, and abſolutely neceſſary for its ſafety and preſervation.

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He has frequently aſſerted, that a more pernicious idea could not enter into the heads of the citizens, than that rigid diſcipline, and a ſtrict ſubjection to military rules, were incompatible with civil liberty; and he was of opinion, that when the bulk of a community would not ſubmit to the ordinances neceſſary for the preſervation of military diſcipline, their liberty could not be of long continuance.

The liberty of every commonwealth muſt be protected ultimately by military force. Military force depends upon order and diſcipline: without order and diſcipline, the greateſt number of armed men are only a contemptible mob; a handful of regulars muſt diſperſe them. It follows then, that the citizens at large muſt ſubmit to the means of becoming ſoldiers, or that they muſt commit the protection of their lives and property to a diſtinct body of men, who will naturally, in a ſhort time, ſet up a profeſſional intereſt, ſeparate from the community at large. To this cauſe we may attribute the ſubverſion of every free State that hiſtory preſents to us. The Romans were certainly the firſt and moſt glorious people that have figured on the face of the globe; they continued free longeſt. Every citizen was a ſoldier, and a ſoldier not in name, but in fact; by which is meant, that they were the moſt rigid obſervers of military inſtitutions. The General therefore thought it expedient that every State in America ſhould be extremely careful

ful to perfect the laws relative to their militia; and that, where they were glaringly defective, they ſhould be made more efficient; and that it ſhould be eſtabliſhed as a point of honour, and the criterion of a virtuous citizen, to pay the greateſt deference to the common neceſſary laws of a camp.

The moſt difficult taſk the Editor met with in collecting and arranging theſe Poſthumous Papers, aroſe from his deſire of not giving offence to ſuch characters as had been the object of the General's averſion and reſentment. Unhappily his diſappointments had ſoured his temper; the affair of Monmouth, ſeveral pieces of ſcurrility from the preſs, and numerous inſtances of private ſlander and defamation, ſo far got the better of his philoſophy, as to provoke him in the higheſt degree, and he became, as it were, angry with all mankind.

To this exaſperated diſpoſition we may impute the origin of his political queries, and a number of ſatirical hints thrown out both in his converſation and writing, againſt the Commander in Chief. Humanity will draw a veil over the involuntary errors of ſenſibility, and pardon the ſallies of a ſuffering mind, as its preſages did not meet with an accompliſhment. General Waſhington, by his retirement, demonſtrated to the world, that power was not his object; that America had nothing to fear from his ambition; but that ſhe was honoured with a ſpecimen of ſuch exalted patriotiſm as

could not fail to attract the attention and admiration of the moſt diſtant nations.

The reader will not wonder that General Lee, diſappointed in his career of glory, ſhould be continually inculcating an idea of the extreme danger of truſting too much to the wiſdom of *one*, for the ſafety of the *whole*; that he ſhould conſider it as repugnant to the principles of freedom and republicaniſm, to continue for years, one man as commander in chief; that there ſhould be a rotation of office, military as well as civil; and though the commander of an army poſſeſſed all the virtues of Cato, and the talents of Julius Cæſar, it could not alter the nature of the thing; ſince, by habituating the people to look up to one man, all true republican ſpirit became enervated, and a viſible propenſity to monarchical government was created and foſtered; that there was a charm in the long poſſeſſion of high office, and in the pomp and influence that attended it, which might corrupt the beſt diſpoſitions.

Indeed it was the opinion of Marcus Aurelius, whoſe virtues not only honoured the throne, but human nature, that to have the power of doing much, and to confine that power to doing good, was a prodigy in nature. Such ſentiments of this divine prince, who was not only trained up in the ſchools of auſtere philoſophy, but whoſe elevated ſituation rendered him the moſt able judge of the difficulty there is in not abuſing extenſive power,

when we have it in our hands, furniſh ſubſtantial arguments for not entruſting it to any mortal whatſoever. But while we are convinced of the juſtneſs of theſe ſentiments, we are led the more to reſpect and reverence our moſt diſintereſted Commander in Chief, who ſtands conſpicuous, with unrivalled glory, ſuperior to the faſcinations which have overthrown many a great and noble mind.

The Editor conceives his preſent labours, in the compilation of this work, will be uſeful, and throw ſome light on the hiſtory of the late revolution—a monument of the arduous ſtruggle, exhibiting a faithful and valuable collection of military and political correſpondence.

EDWARD LANGWORTHY.

Baltimore, March 10th, 1787.

MISCEL-

MISCELLANEOUS PIECES,

FROM THE PAPERS OF THE LATE

Major General Charles Lee.

A SKETCH OF A PLAN

FOR THE

Formation of a Military Colony.

I WILL ſuppoſe the number to conſiſt of ten thouſand men, with their full proportion of officers of different ranks, and children. There ſhall be no diſtinction made in the diſtribution of lands, betwixt the general officers and colonels; but as it appears that there ſhould, for the ſake of order, be ſome difference of property in the different claſſes of men, I would propoſe the following plan of diſtribution.—When the capital is once fixed, immediately round it by lot—Every colonel to have two thouſand five hundred acres; every lieutenant colonel two thouſand; major fifteen hundred; captain one thouſand: lieutenants and enſigns ſeven hundred each; each ſerjeant three hundred; every rank and file two hundred. Another circle drawn round it, containing the ſame number of acres, ſhall be in common, for the uſe of the whole community; where cattle ſhall have the liberty

liberty of ranging beyond this circle. Another ſhall be drawn, of an equal number of acres, with the ſame proportion of acres for every member of the community. So that every colonel will, in fact, be maſter of five hundred acres, every lieutenant-colonel of four, every major of three, every captain of two thouſand, and every rank and file of four hundred; one half within the capital precinct, and the other half in what I call the pomœrium of the State: the intermediate ſhall be allotted to the rearing of horſes for the public ſervice, and cattle, to form magazines for war.

The lots in the pomœrium are intended for the children of the State, when they are of an age to ſettle and marry. As the colony is military, (as every colony ought to be, if they intend to be free), a conſtant exerciſed militia ſhall be kept up, but by annual rotation: for which purpoſe, the fifth part of the men fit to bear arms, from ſeventeen to forty-five, ſhall be embodied for two months of the year, their manœuvres as ſimple as can be deviſed: but no ſubſtitutes are to be allowed, on any pretence, but abſolute infirmity; and even thoſe who are not embodied, ſhall, in their certain diſtricts, be obliged to aſſemble every week, practiſe ſome ſimple evolutions, ſuch as marching in front, retreating and rallying by their colours, and all firing at marks.

A ſtanding ſmall body of horſe, and of artillery, ſhall be conſtantly kept up at the public expence,

as

as theſe ſpecies of troops are not to be formed in an inſtant. An Agrarian law ſhall be paſſed, and rigidly obſerved, reſtraining abſolutely every member of the community from poſſeſſing more than five thouſand acres of land, not only within the precincts of the community, but any where elſe. No member of the community, unleſs he comes into the world deformed, or too weak to undergo the manly labours, ſhall be ſuffered to exerciſe ſedentary trades, ſuch as taylors, barbers, ſhoemakers, weavers, &c. &c. Theſe effeminate and vile occupations ſhall be allotted to women, to the weak, deformed, and to ſlaves. Agriculture, hunting, and war, to be the only profeſſions of the men; to which may be added, the trade of ſmiths, carpenters, and thoſe which do not emaſculate.]

But as there is reaſon to apprehend, that a nation merely of warriors, hunters, and agriculturers, may become extremely ferocious in their manners, ſome method ſhould be deviſed, of ſoftening, or counteracting this conſequential ferocity: I know of none equally efficacious with a general cultivation and ſtudy of muſic and poetry; on which principle, I would propoſe, that muſic and poetry ſhould be the great regimen of the two moſt important articles of government, religion and war; all other good qualities might follow of courſe: for, without religion, no warlike community can exiſt; and with religion, if it is pure and unſophiſticated, all immoralities ate incompatible. Muſic

and

and poetry, therefore, which ought to be inſeparably blended, are the grand pivots of a real, brave, active, warlike and virtuous ſociety. This doctrine I am conſcious may ſhock quakers, puritans, and rigid ſectariſts of every kind; but I do not ſpeak to quakers, puritans, and rigid ſectariſts. At the firſt, and from the bottom of my heart, I deteſt and deſpiſe them. I ſpeak to men and ſoldiers, who wiſh and are able to aſſert and defend the rights of humanity; and, let me add, to vindicate the character of God Almighty, and real chriſtianity, which have been ſo long diſhonoured by ſectariſts of every kind and complexion; catholics, church of England men, preſbyterians, and methodiſts. I could wiſh, therefore, that the community of ſoldiers (who are to be all chriſtians) ſhould eſtabliſh one common form of worſhip, with which every member muſt acquieſce, at leaſt in attendance on divine worſhip, and the obſervation of the preſcribed ceremonies; but this ſo contrived as not to ſhock any man who has been bred up in any of the different ſects. For which reaſon, let all expoſitions of the ſcripture, and all dogmas, be for ever baniſhed. Let it be ſufficient that he acknowledges the exiſtence, providence, and goodneſs of God Almighty; that he reverences Jeſus Chriſt: but let the queſtion never be aſked, whether he conſiders Jeſus Chriſt as only a divine perſon, commiſſioned by God for divine purpoſes, as the ſon of God, or as God himſelf.

Theſe

Theſe ſophiſtical ſubtilties only lead to a doubt of the whole: let it be ſufficient therefore that he believes in God, in his providence, and in the mediation of Jeſus Chriſt, whether a real God, or only a divinely inſpired mortal; for which reaſon, to prevent the impertinence and ill conſequences of dogmatiſing, no profeſſional prieſts of any ſort whatever ſhall be admitted in the community. But ſtill I am of opinion, that a ſacred order, or hierarchy, ſhould be eſtabliſhed, and in the following manner: that this hierarchy are not to be expoſitors of the divine law, which ought to be underſtood by every member of common capacity; but as the ſervitors, or adminiſtrators of the ſolemn ceremonies to be obſerved in the worſhip of the Supreme Being, of his Son, or miſſionary.

The grand hierophant, pontifex maximus, or ſupreme ſervitor of the ceremonies of divine worſhip, is to be choſen out of the community, and to be not under the age of fifty; the principal qualification requiſite in him, to be ſanctity of manners, a reverend aſpect, but, above all, a diſtinct and melodious voice. A body, or rather chorus of under prieſts, is to be ſelected likewiſe, for their integrity of manners, and ſkill in muſic; for as all dogmas, and of courſe all expoſitions, are baniſhed, ſuperior learning, or what is improperly underſtood to be learning amongſt the theologians of the modern world, will be ſo far from a qualification, that it will rather be a diſqualification, particularly as the ceremonies

remonies are to conſiſt in poetical hymns of praiſe and thankſgiving, ſet to muſic; ſuch for inſtance as Pope's Univerſal Prayer, part of the Common Prayer, and many pieces ſelected from the Pſalms of David; for theſe long prayers with which all the churches of the different ſects are infeſted, entering into ſuch minute details with God Almighty, as if he was your factor in a foreign country, have been juſtly deemed by many wiſe men, not only tireſome, but impious impertinencies.

Ablutions, ſuch as are practiſed in the religions of the Eaſt, ſeem to me to be really a divine inſtitution. Theſe Eaſterns wiſely ſay, that a pure ſoul cannot inhabit a filthy body; that a purified body is the beſt ſymbol of a clean ſpirit; that it is indecent and wicked to preſent yourſelf before your Creator in a dirtier condition than you ought to appear in before an earthly ſuperior. Admitting theſe figures to be hyperbolical, the inſtitution certainly is extremely wiſe, as it contributes ſo eſſentially to health, and the agreements of ſociety. Baths, or little fountains, at leaſt ſuch as are in uſe amongſt the Turks, to be eſtabliſhed near the temples of worſhip; and every communicant to waſh his hands, face, feet and teeth, before he enters the ſacred abode. The temples to be as magnificent as the circumſtances of the ſociety will admit. A grand religious concert of thankſgivings to be performed every Sunday; and two other days

days in the week, we will ſuppoſe Tueſdays and Fridays, but ſhorter, and with leſs pomp; for there is nothing ſo impolitic, as to make pomp and ceremony too frequent—they entirely loſe their effect. The thankſgivings or hymns, therefore, on theſe common days, to be extremely ſhort, but ſenſible and energetic: long prayers, ſuch as the morning ſervice of the church of England, with the addition of a long unmeaning ſermon, hummed through the noſe perhaps of a crop-ſick parſon, who can ſcarcely read his own writing, or the ſtill more inſufferable cant of the puritan preachers, muſt be the bane of all religion; and I verily believe there is ſcarcely any one perſon, if they had the honeſty to confeſs it, man, woman, or child, who would not rather ſuffer conſiderable inconvenience than go either to a church, or a preſbyterian meeting-houſe. In ſhort, the ceremonies of divine worſhip muſt be made ſolemn, pompous and elevating—but we will quit the ſubject of religion, and paſs to the law.

As an Agrarian law is to be eſtabliſhed, and rigidly obſerved, reſtraining every member of the community to the poſſeſſion of five thouſand acres; and as the children of both ſexes are to inherit an equal portion (for this is to be a fundamental maxim), the moſt ſimple code may be extracted, for civil caſes, from the common laws of England, or from thoſe of Denmark, which appear to be excellent. A *profeſſional* lawyer therefore will be totally

totally unneceſſary; indeed, I ſhould as ſoon think of inoculating my community for the plague, as admitting one of theſe gentlemen to reſide among us: all requiſite knowledge of the law will be a common accompliſhment of every gentleman. The Romans, in the ages of their ſimplicity, virtue and glory, had certainly none; the ſame men were their conſuls, pontifices, generals, and juriſconſuls. With reſpect to criminal matters, I would adopt Beccaria's ſcheme; its excellencies have been demonſtrated in the Tuſcan dominions. When the preſent Grand Duke acceded to the ducal throne, he found Tuſcany the moſt abandoned people of all Italy, filled with robbers and aſſaſſins. Every where, for a ſeries of years previous to the government of this excellent prince, were ſeen gallows, wheels and tortures of every kind; and the robberies and murders were not at all leſs frequent. He had read and admired the Marquis of Beccaria, and determined to try the effects of his plan. He put a ſtop to all capital puniſhments, even for the greateſt crimes; and the conſequences have convinced the world of its wholeſomeneſs. The galleys, ſlavery for a certain term of years, or for life, in proportion to the crime, have accompliſhed what an army of hangmen, with their hooks, wheels and gibbets, could not. In ſhort, Tuſcany, from being a theatre of the greateſt crimes and villainies of every ſpecies,

cies, is become the ſafeſt and beſt ordered State of Europe.

It is a known fact, that ſince the adoption of this plan, there have been but two murders committed: one by a little boy of eleven years old, in a ſtroke of paſſion; and the other, not by a native Italian ſubject, but by an Iriſh officer. But if we had not this example, and that of the Empreſs Elizabeth, (who adopted the ſame plan, which had the ſame good effect) before our eyes, the inculcating an idea in a military people that death is the moſt terrible of all puniſhments, is certainly the moſt abſurd of ſoleciſms. Nothing great can be expected from a community which is taught to conſider it as ſuch. On the contrary, death ought, as far as human nature will admit, to be made a matter of indifference; or, if poſſible, (and I think it very poſſible), of comfort.

I have often laughed at the glaring contradiction in the proceedings, in this article, in the Britiſh armies, and others, in which I have ſerved. I have ſeen two or three wretches who had the misfortune to be detected in marauding, or attempting to deſert, taken out with awful form, encircled by a multitude who had been guilty of, or had intended to have committed the ſame crimes, but happily had not been diſcovered; the chaplain, in his canonicals, telling them how dreadful a thing it was for their ſouls to be divorced from their bodies, and to be urged on to the tribunal of their

Maker, with theſe horrid ſins on their heads. A few hours afterwards, ſome deſperate expedition ordered to be executed by the very men who had been preſent at the execution, who had committed, or had intended to commit, the very ſame horrid crimes: and the officer appointed to command the expedition, as uſual, harangues the ſoldiers; aſſures them that death is not a ſerious affair; that, as all men muſt ſooner or later die, it is of little moment when it happens. Thus it may be ſaid, we blow hot and cold with the ſame breath. I am therefore abſolutely and totally againſt capital puniſhments, at leaſt in our military community. Let the loſs of liberty, and ignominy, be inculcated as the extreme of all puniſhments: common culprits therefore are, in proportion to the degree of their delinquency, to be condemned to ſlavery, for a longer or ſhorter term of years; to public works, ſuch as repairing high ways, and public buildings, with ſome ignominious diſtinction of habit, denoting their condition. As to thoſe who have been guilty of crimes of a very deep dye, ſuch as wanton murder, perjury, and the like, let them be mutilated, their ears cut off, their faces ſtamped with the marks of infamy, and whipped out of the State.

I paſs now to trade.—The perſuaſion that extenſive trade is the ſource of riches, ſtrength, happineſs and glory, is perhaps one of the greateſt miſtakes and misfortunes which modern ſocieties labour

labour under. Without doubt certain cities, both of antiquity and the preſent world, from their peculiar ſituation and circumſtances, owed their exiſtence entirely to their commerce; ſuch as Tyre, Venice, and Holland: but I cannot conceive how a community of ſoldiers and agricultors, who have lands enough to cultivate, not only for their own ſubſiſtence, but in a great meaſure for others, ſhould have occaſion for what is called great and extenſive commerce. I think, on the contrary, that it muſt emaſculate the body, narrow the mind, and in fact corrupt every true republican and manly principle; nay, I think it muſt deſtroy all ſenſibility for real pleaſure and happineſs. Let any man of taſte or ſenſibility aſſociate only for a few months with commercial men, or reſide in a commercial city, he will find their converſation dull, languid, and ſtupid; their pleaſures confined to groſs eating and drinking; their only idea of mirth, to the roaring of ſome vile hoarſe ſinger; and of wit, to the ſtory-teller of the club, or ſome wretched punſter, who lives on catches and crotchets. True muſic, elevating poetry, liberal hiſtory, and all polite literature; a competent acquaintance with theſe, is neceſſary for thoſe who have any ſhare of the legiſlature: I mean thoſe who are immediately entruſted with the executive or judicial powers. It is abſolutely requiſite to qualify every man of a liberal community for ſocial converſation. But although I ob-

ject to profeſſional merchants being permitted to reſide in our government, it is certain that ſome degree of commerce or barter muſt be carried on, or agriculture and hunting ſtand ſtill, and of courſe idleneſs and all its attendant evils enſue.

I would therefore propoſe, that on the frontiers of the State, at leaſt once in the year, a *great fair* ſhould be eſtabliſhed, to which merchants and pedlars of all ſorts and nations ſhould be encouraged to reſort. This fair to continue three weeks or a month.

AN

AN ESSAY

ON THE

COUP d'OEIL.

IT is the general opinion, that the *coup d'œil* does not depend upon ourſelves; that it is a preſent of Nature; that practice will not give it to us; in a word, that we muſt bring it into the world with us, without which, the moſt piercing eyes ſee nothing, and we muſt grope about in utter darkneſs. This is a miſtake: we have all the *coup d'œil* in proportion to the degree of underſtanding which it has pleaſed Providence to give to us. It is derived from both; but what is acquired, refines and perfects the natural, and experience inſures it to us. It is manifeſt from the actions and conduct of Amilcar, that he had it to a great and fine degree; for he poſſeſſed all the qualities requiſite for it, and in the greateſt point of perfection that perhaps ever any general carried them; as may be remarked in the war of Eryce, and that of the rebels of Africa.

Before I enter into the explication of the method that ſhould be purſued to acquire this talent, falſely thought to be a gift of Nature, it is neceſſary to define it.—The military *coup d'œil*, then, is nothing elſe than the art of knowing the nature and different ſituations of the country where we make and intend to carry the war; the advantages and diſadvantages of the camp and poſts that we mean to occupy; as likewiſe thoſe which may be favourable or diſadvantageous to the enemy. By the poſition of our army, and the conſequences drawn from it, we may not only form with preciſion our deſigns for the preſent, but judge of thoſe we may afterwards have. It is alone by this knowledge of the country into which we carry the war, that a great Captain can foreſee the events of the whole campaign, and, if it may be ſo expreſſed, render himſelf maſter of them; becauſe, judging from what he himſelf has done, of what the enemy muſt neceſſarily do, forced as they are, by the nature of the places, to regulate their movements to oppoſe his deſigns, he conducts them from poſt to poſt, from camp to camp, to the very point he has propoſed to himſelf to inſure victory. Such, in a few words, is the military *coup d'œil*, without which it is impoſſible that a General ſhould avoid falling into a number of faults of the greateſt conſequence. In a word, there are little hopes of victory if we are deſtitute of what is called the

coup

coup d'œil of war; and as the military ſcience is of the ſame nature with all others that require practice to poſſeſs them in all the different parts that compoſe them, this which I treat of, is, of all others, that which requires the greateſt practice.

Philopœmen, one of the greateſt Captains that Greece produced, and whom an illuſtrious Roman has called the laſt of the Grecians, had the *coup d' œil* in an admirable degree; but we ought not to conſider it as a gift of Nature, but as the fruit of ſtudy, application, and his extreme paſſion for war. Plutarch informs us of the method he uſed to enable himſelf to ſee with his own eyes, rather than thoſe of other people, when he was at the head of armies. The paſſage deſerves to be quoted.

"He willingly liſtened," ſays the Greek author, "to the diſcourſes, and read the treatiſes of the philoſophers; not all, but only thoſe which could aid him in his purſuit of virtue; and of all the great ideas of Homer, he ſought for, and retained thoſe alone which could whet his courage, and animate him towards great actions: and of all other lectures, he preferred the treatiſes of Evangelus, called the Tactics, that is, the art of ranging troops in order of battle; and the hiſtories of the life of Alexander; for he thought that language was of no further uſe than its reference to action, and that the only end of reading was to learn how to conduct ourſelves; unleſs

we chuſe to read merely to paſs the time, or to furniſh ourſelves with the means of keeping up idle and fruitleſs chat.

When he had read the precepts and rules of the tactics, he did not trouble his head about ſeeing the demonſtration of them by plans on paper, but made the application of them in the very ſcenes of action, and in open field; for, in his marches, he accurately obſerved the eminences and low places, the breaks and irregularities of the ground, and all the forms and figures which battalions and ſquadrons are obliged to take in conſequence of rivulets, ravines, and defiles, which force them to cloſe or extend themſelves. In general, it appears, that Philopœmen had a very ſtrong paſſion for arms; that he embraced war as a profeſſion that gave greater play to his virtues; in a word, he deſpiſed all thoſe as idle and uſeleſs members of the community, who did not apply themſelves to it."

Theſe, in abridgment, are the moſt excellent precepts that can be given to a prince, the general of an army, and every officer who wiſhes to arrive at the higheſt degrees of military rank. This is the only method; and, as the tranſlator has very judiciouſly obſerved, renders the putting the precepts into practice, on occaſion, more eaſy than by ſtudying the plans on paper. Plutarch accuſes, and even ſeverely cenſures Philopœmen for having carried his paſſion for arms beyond the bounds

of

of moderation. Monſ. Dacier does not fail to chime in with him; but, both the one and the other, without well knowing what they ſay, have paſſed an unfair judgment on this great Captain; as if the ſcience of war was not immenſe, and did not comprehend all others in its vortex; and as if, to acquire a perfect knowledge of it, a long and laborious application was not neceſſary. Plutarch was no ſoldier; his tranſlator leſs ſo: it eſcaped both the one and the other, that Philopœmen was as learned as the greateſt part of the Grecian Generals, and that he applied himſelf to the ſtudy of philoſophy and hiſtory, ſo neceſſary for military men. Why, then, be offended that a man ſhould apply and give himſelf entirely up to the ſtudy of the ſciences which have a relation to his profeſſion?—That of arms is not only moſt noble, but the moſt extenſive and profound; conſequently it demands the greateſt application. What this great Captain did, to acquire the *coup d'œil*, is extremely neceſſary and important for the command of armies, on which depend the glory and ſafety of the State.

There is no doubt but that tactics, or the art of ranging armies in the order of battle, of encamping and fighting them, is a moſt royal attainment. What could be the reaſon that Hannibal ranked Pyrrhus king of the Epirots, before Scipio, and immediately after Alexander, although the latter was certainly the ableſt man? It was, doubtleſs, becauſe

becauſe the firſt excelled all mankind in this great part of war, although Scipio did not yield to him in this point, as he made appear at the battle Lama. Hannibal was leſs practiſed in this branch than the two others. Philopœmen ſaw that the ſtudy of tactics, and the treatiſes of Evangelus, were of no uſe to him, unleſs he joined to them the *coup d'œil*, ſo neceſſary to the general of an army. His method always pleaſed me, and it is what I have ever practiſed in my journeys, and in the camp; for we ought not to wait for the opportunity of war to acquire the *coup d'œil*, but it may be learnt and obtained by the exerciſe of hunting.

To attain this ſcience, many things are neceſſary. Severe application to our profeſſion is the baſis; then a certain method is to be adopted; Although that of this Grecian Captain is good, I think I have improved upon it, or at leaſt diſcovered that which the Greek author has omitted to teach us more particularly. We are not always at war, nor is it to be ſuppoſed that we can render ourſelves able by experience alone, on which indeed the capacity of the greater part of military men in theſe ages is founded: it ſerves to perfect us, but is ſcarcely of any uſe unleſs the ſtudy of the principles accompany it; becauſe, war being a ſcience, it is impoſſible to make any progreſs without beginning with the ſtudy of the principles. Two ages of perpetual war would ſcarcely ſuffice to furniſh lights for our conduct:

from

from the experience of facts, this ought to be left to ſouls of an ordinary ſtamp, and more compendious methods be provided for great Captains to mount to the ſummit of glory, without being indebted for it to the capacity of others, which is not always to be met with. It is, then, neceſſary to ſtudy war before we engage in it, and to apply ourſelves inceſſantly after we are engaged in it. I have before ſaid, that we are not always at war; and I may add, that armies are not always drawn together in a body, or in motion. They are for ſix months at leaſt quiet in winter quarters; and ſix months are not ſufficient to form the *coup d'œil* of war. It is true, that a great deal more is to be learnt in marches, in forages, and in the different camps and poſts which armies occupy: the ideas become more clear and capable to judge of, and reflect on, the country we ſee; but this does not prevent us from making uſe of it, by the aſſiſtance of good ſenſe, on other occaſions than when in armies; or from refining our judgment and eye, either by hunting, or on our journeys:—this I can ſpeak of from experience.

Nothing contributes more to form the *coup d'œil*, than the exerciſe of hunting; for, beſides giving us a thorough knowledge of the country, and of the different ſituations, which are infinite, and never the ſame, it teaches us a thouſand ſtratagems

tagems and other things relative to war. But the principle is the knowledge of the objects that form the *coup d'œil*, without our being ſenſible of it; and if we practiſe it with this intention, we may, with the addition of a very few reflections, acquire the greateſt and moſt important qualification of a general of an army.

The great Cyrus, in giving himſelf entirely up to hunting, in his younger years, had the pleaſure of it leſs in view than the deſign of qualifying himſelf for war and the command of armies. Xenophon, who wrote his life, does not leave us in the leaſt doubt on this head. He ſays, that this great man, on his preparing for war with the king of Armenia, reaſoned upon this expedition as if the queſtion had been of a party of hunting in a mountainous country. He explained himſelf thus to Chryſantes, one of his general officers, whom he had detached into the rougheſt parts, and the moſt difficult vallies, in order to gain the entrances and iſſues, and to cut of all retreat to the enemy. " Imagine," ſays he, " that it is a chace we are engaged in, and that it is allotted to thee to watch at the toils, whilſt I beat the country. Above all, remember not to begin the chace before all the paſſages are occupied, and that thoſe who are placed in ambuſcade be not ſeen, leſt they ſhould frighten the game. Take care not to engage thyſelf too far in the woods, from whence

thou

thou mighteſt find it difficult to extricate thyſelf; and command your guides, unleſs they could in deed ſhorten the diſtances, to conduct you by the beſt roads, which, with reſpect to armies, are always the ſhorteſt."

Whether or not Xenophon, in his hiſtory of Cyrus, has run into romance in order to give us an abridgment of the military ſcience treated hiſtorically, is a matter of no great importance, provided that all it contains relative to this ſcience be juſt and ſolid. His intention is to convince us that hunting leads us to the knowledge of many things neceſſary to be known—that it is a becoming amuſement, and extremely neceſſary to thoſe who are either born to command or to obey; becauſe it enures us to bear the fatigues of war, ſtrengthens the conſtitution, and forms the *coup d'œil*; for an exact knowledge of a certain extent of country, facilitates that of others, if he but ſees it in the ſlighteſt manner. It is impoſſible, although they are widely different, that there ſhould not be ſome conformity betwixt them; and the perfect knowledge of one (ſays Machiavel in his political diſcourſes) leads to t h atof another. On the contrary, thoſe who are not trained in this practice, have the greateſt difficulty to acquire it; whilſt the others, by a ſingle glance of the eye, can aſcertain the extent of a plain, the height of a mountain, the depth, breadth, and termination of a valley, and all the circumſtances of the nature

of the different grounds to which they are accuſtomed by habit and experience. I do not believe that any other author, than this I have quoted, has treated of this matter. The remainder is excellent: I ſhall beg leave to tranſcribe it.

"Nothing is more true," continues he, "than what I here advance, if we may give credit to Titus Livius, and the example he preſents to our eyes in the perſon of Publius Decius, who was Tribune in the Roman army, commanded by the Conſul Cornelius, againſt the Samnites. It happened that this General ſuffered himſelf to be puſhed into a valley, where the enemy might have pent him up. In this extremity, Decius ſays to the Conſul, 'Don't you perceive yonder eminence, which commands the enemy? This is the poſt that alone can extricate us, if we do not loſe a ſingle moment in making ourſelves maſter of it, as the Samnites have been ſo blind as to abandon it.' But before Decius addreſſed himſelf in this manner to the Conſul, he had diſcovered through the wood, a hill which commanded the camp of the enemy; that it was ſteep, and of pretty difficult acceſs for heavy armed troops, but practicable enough to the light infantry. That the Conſul ordered the Tribune to take poſſeſſion of it with three thouſand men that he had conſigned to him; which having happily executed, the whole army retreated in order to put themſelves in a place of ſafety. That he ordered ſome few

of

of his people to follow, whilſt there was yet ſome remains of day-light, in order to diſcover the paſſes guarded by the enemy, and thoſe by which a retreat might be made; and he went to reconnoitre, diſguiſed in the habit of a common ſoldier, that the Samnites might not perceive that it was a general officer who was on the ſcout."

"If we reflect," continues Machiavel, "upon what Titus Livius here ſays, we ſhall ſee how neceſſary it is for a good General to be able to judge of the nature of a country; for if Decius had not poſſeſſed this talent, he would not have known how advantageous the poſſeſſion of this hill muſt have been to the Romans; and he would have been incapable of diſcovering at a diſtance, whether it was of eaſy or difficult acceſs. When, afterwards, he had made himſelf maſter of it, and when the point was to rejoin the Conſul, he would not have been able, at a diſtance, to diſcover which poſts were guarded by the enemy, and thoſe by which a retreat was practicable. Decius, therefore, muſt certainly have been very intelligent in theſe ſort of matters; for otherwiſe he could not have ſaved the Roman army by poſſeſſing himſelf of this hill, and afterwards extricated himſelf from the enemy, who had ſurrounded him."

There are very few military men who are capable of drawing, from an hiſtorical fact, ſuch obſervations as theſe I have cited from Machiavel:

the moſt conſummate maſter in the profeſſion could do no more. I am not at all ſurprized at it; a profound and well-digeſted ſtudy of hiſtory neceſſarily leads us to the knowledge of an infinity of things, which enables us to judge ſoundly and ſolidly of all. The ſtudy of politics, of which hiſtory is the baſis, is a powerful means of perfecting our underſtanding and judgment.

The political and military diſcourſes of this author, on the Decades of Livy, are an immortal work. I think them worthy the curioſity of all military men—of being attentively read and well digeſted. His life of Caſtrucciom, one of the greateſt Captains of his age, though not very much known, is not leſs admirable. It is everywhere ornamented with curious and very inſtructive facts; and filled with military reflections and obſervations which few people are capable of making. So happy a turn had this man for the profeſſion of arms, (excepting his book on the article of war, which does not do him a great deal of honour, although it is pillaged from Vegetius), he is admirable in all. He lived at a time when Italy was ſo agitated with trouble inteſtine and foreign wars, that we muſt not be ſurprized if a man of ſenſe and judgment, and learned beſides, was equal to ſo noble a performance; becauſe, as he was on the ſcene of action, he had the means of obtaining the moſt excellent materials, and of converſing with officers who had ſerved in theſe wars.

A PIC-

A PICTURE

OF THE

COUNTESS of ——.

THE Counteſs has, what we ſee ſeldom united in the ſame woman, vivacity and tenderneſs, dignity of perſon and feminine ſoftneſs. She is tall, and exquiſitely ſhaped. She is of an amiable and commanding aſpect. Her eyes are of the languiſhing Engliſh blue, but of the Grecian largeneſs and contour. Her forehead is of a poliſh and formation not to be matched. Her lips are full and ripe, from which iſſues a breath which would create deſires in age and coldneſs. Her neck is of ſuch a colour and ſymmetry as to make us curſe invidious cuſtom for preventing us gazing on the whole of ſo admirable a piece of workmanſhip. Her ſkin is of a ſmoothneſs that the ſlighteſt contact of it thrills through every pore, and beats alarm to a thouſand wiſhes. Her perſon is rather ample; but we could not

conſent to its diminution, leſt ſome grace or beauty ſhould be loſt.

No man has ſeen her laugh; but ſhe ſmiles frequently. Her ſmiles ſeem rather to be the reſult of an inclination to make thoſe about her cheerful and happy, than of any inherent gaiety of diſpoſition in herſelf. She has, at times, a daſh of melancholy in her countenance, which is more becoming than her ſmiles. Theſe ſhort ſymptoms of melancholy I ſhould attribute to her vacancy of heart, to her want of ſome one object upon which ſhe may fix her affections; a neceſſity which Nature has impoſed upon Woman for a wiſe purpoſe—the perpetuation of the human race.

She has faults; but her faults ſeem to be acquired—her virtues a native inheritance. She is ſo general, that it almoſt amounts to coquetry. She makes too little diſtinction betwixt the men of merit and ſenſe, and the fooliſh and undeſerving. She can cruelly ſuffer the ſincere reſpectful lover to languiſh without a glimmer of hope, and give encouragement to the aſſured, indifferent coxcomb, who would boaſt of favours which ſhe is, perhaps, determined to confer on no man. She has the appearance of being ſo ſatisfied with theſe reptiles, that you would ſuſpect her underſtanding, did not every ſentence which ſhe utters correct this miſtake. She may be accuſed in this, of ingratitude towards her benefactreſs

Nature, who beſtowed on her ſuch uncommon talents, not to be hebetated by the galimatias of fools, but, by a proper application of her time, to be perfected into mental endowments proportionable to her perſonal charms. She acts wiſely in being cautious of a ſecond marriage, as the great fortune which ſhe is poſſeſſed of, muſt render it difficult for her to diſtinguiſh who courts her riches, who herſelf. But the man who ſhall be happy enough to obtain her, will do well to hurry his prize to ſome retreat from the great world, as the facility which I complain of might create him much uneaſineſs; for it is an eternal truth, that great love, and ſome degree of jealouſy, are inſeparable. There thou mighteſt, O envied mortal! enjoy perpetual happineſs; if candour, frankneſs, good nature, underſtanding and beauty could make thee happy.

AN ACCOUNT

OF A

CONVERSATION,

CHIEFLY RELATIVE TO THE ARMY.

SOME time ago, I made one of a company of officers, whoſe converſation was not confined, as is too much the cuſtom of gentlemen of our profeſſion, to *buckles, buttons, garters, grenadier caps*, or, what is little better, *the figure that ſuch or ſuch a regiment made in their puerile reviews for the amuſement of royal maſters and miſſes, great and ſmall, in Hyde Park, or on Wimbleton Common*; our diſcourſe fell upon the hiſtory of England, and the reſpective merits of the different hiſtorians.

A young ſubaltern, who ſeemed to have great fire and ſentiment, and with more reading than young ſubalterns are generally maſters of, was extremely bitter on Mr. Hume: he loaded him with a thouſand opprobriums; he ſtyled him a ſophiſt, a jeſuit, a theiſtical champion of depotiſm, who had dethroned the God of Heaven, and deified the ſceptered monſters of the earth. The young man was taken up by a grey-headed field-officer,

officer, who was ſo warm a partizan of Mr. Hume's, that he leaned not only towards abſolute (or in his favourite author's terms) pure unmixed monarchy, but viſibly towards jacobitiſm. He ſpoke of Charles the Firſt with an idolatrous reverence, and of all his opponents with the greateſt horror and indignation: this led him to a great deal of abuſe on Mrs. M'Cawley; he lamented that a compoſition of this nature was ſuffered to be publiſhed, which muſt inſtil the moſt damnable republican principles into the minds of our youth; that it already had diminiſhed that reſpect to royalty ſo neceſſary to be kept up; and that the young gentleman who ſpoke laſt, had furniſhed us with an inſtance, that the army had not eſcaped the contagion—a moſt alarming conſideration! as their diſreſpect to crowned heads was not manifeſted alone by opinions injurious to the royal martyr, but that ſeveral of them had frequently in their converſations declared their diſapprobation of ſome parts of the preſent reign; that ſuch ſentiments, and ſuch language, were not only repugnant to the ſpirit of our military laws, but indecent and ungrateful in thoſe who *eat his Majeſty's bread.* This he uttered with ſo much emphaſis, that the greateſt part of the company was terrified into ſilence; and the young ſubaltern began to think he had been guilty in ſome meaſure of treaſon, and I believe would have prevaricated himſelf into other ſentiments than thoſe he had profeſſed, had

I not taken up his cauſe, juſtified all he had advanced, and encouraged him to foſter the noble principles he had imbibed. I demanded of our veteran to explain his meaning in ſaying that *we eat his Majeſty's bread;* whence had his Majeſty drawn funds to feed ſo many mouths? Were coffers of gold tranſported from his perſonal eſtates in Germany? or, had he diſcovered in his gardens at Kew, treaſures ſufficient for ſuch prodigious munificence? Were the officers of the army forlorn and ſtarving in the ſtreets, without patrimony, relations and friends; cut off by their country, from all means of ſupporting themſelves; in a word, precluded from all the poſſibilities, preſented to other members of ſociety, of procuring a livelihood? Had his Majeſty found the whole body of us in this wretched deſperate ſituation, and out of the vaſt benevolence of his ſoul, and at his own individual expence, without the leaſt incumbrance to the nation, redeemed us from hunger and nakedneſs, fed us comfortably, clothed us in ſmart red coats, put ſwords by our ſides, and erected us into the condition of gentlemen? I ſaid, if theſe things could be proved, but on no other terms, I would agree with the gentleman who ſpoke laſt, that *we really did eat the king's bread*, and that we were perhaps in duty bound to approve all his meaſures, and all thoſe of his miniſters, whether right or wrong, glorious or inglorious, ſalutary or pernicious.—But, on the

other

other hand, if we conſidered ourſelves, as we really were, only as a claſs of one great free people, ſegregated from the reſt into this diſtinct claſs, and ſubjected to particular laws neceſſary for the maintenance of military order and diſcipline, without which we could not anſwer the ends of our inſtitution, that is, *the immediate defence of our mother country againſt foreign invaders, and the preſervation of our colonies and external poſſeſſions, the great baſis and ſupport of our commerce, wealth, and marine, conſequently our national importance and independance:* I ſaid the King might be conſidered, partly in the ſame predicament with the officers of the army, or the fleet, VIZ. *a great ſervant of the community, or maſs of the people, ordained and ſubſiſted for the public ſervice;* with this difference, that each individual of the army, or fleet, contributed as a citizen, and one of the people, to his ſubſiſtence, as a ſoldier, or ſervant of the great aggregate, of which he himſelf, in another ſenſe, formed a part; whereas the king was ſimply a receiver; in no reſpect a contributer; ſo that it might in fact be ſaid with more propriety, that the king eat the officer of the army's bread, than that the officers of the army eat the king's. I confeſſed that his Majeſty, as one branch of the legiſlature, and executive magiſtrate, was entitled to a very high degree of reverence from ſoldiers as well as other citizens, as long as he fulfilled the duties of his ſtation; but that ſtill a higher degree of reverence and attachment

was due to the freedom, laws, proſperity and glory of our country, than perſonally to the firſt magiſtrate, let him fill his office ever ſo worthily. When it was remembered, I added, that the preſent reigning family had been taken from a German electorate, not the moſt conſiderable, exalted to the head of a mighty empire, endowed with adequate revenues, and inveſted with the godlike powers of executing juſtice, but ſoftening its rigours, of dealing out mercy, but reſtrained from evil; I ſaid, when theſe things were remembered, ſhould his preſent Majeſty, or any of his ſucceſſors, pervert the power granted by the generoſity and confidence of the people, to the prejudice or diſhonour of the people, the officers of the army, no more than any other claſs of citizens, could not be taxed with ingratitude, or indecency, in cenſuring their prince, but the prince in furniſhing matter of cenſure.—The old field officer began to ſoften: he confeſſed that his expreſſion with reſpect to the officer's eating his Majeſty's bread was improper; but ſtill inſiſted, that the army ought to be more reſerved in their cenſure than any other order of men, as they ſeemed to be held in higher eſteem by the preſent Court than any other order. In this again I totally differed from the old gentleman. I aſſerted it was the reverſe: that the army had been treated through the whole preſent reign, both individually, and collectively, with more contempt and ingratitude than in any reign

of

of any age or any country; that the ill uſage of the army had not been confined to the living, it had extended to the dead. To begin with Mr. Wolfe, to whoſe valour and conduct we owed the acquiſition of a mighty empire, how irreverently had his aſhes been treated by government! The nation had indeed gratefully and generouſly voted a monument to their hero; the nation had paid the money, but unfortunately his Majeſty's miniſters were the truſtees: to this day therefore we ſee no monument erected; the money raiſed on the people for this purpoſe, having probably been converted to the uſe of ſome living worthies, not very far diſtant from Weſtminſter Abbey. But they were not ſatisfied with depriving the hero of theſe trophies; they had piqued themſelves in adding every inſult to his memory. The man who had ſerved, or rather diſſerved, under him; who had ſhewn activity only in embarraſſing his counſels, impeding his meaſures, and labouring to defeat his purpoſes; who had ſtrained his hard-bound wit to throw a ridicule on his conduct; who, whenever he could find an audience paſſive and baſe enough to his mind, had poured forth torrents of abuſe, and endeavoured to raiſe a ſpirit of faction and mutiny in others, equal to that ſtirred up in his own breaſt, by the dæmon of envy; who, after his glorious death, had not paid the ſlighteſt tribute of reſpect to his memory, or of ceremony to his remains; who had attempted to

filch

filch *his laurels off the ſhelf, and put them in his pocket*: This man, I ſaid, had been loaded with the higheſt preferments, and the greateſt honours, (if any thing which flows from ſuch a court can be deemed honours), which our court has to beſtow.—Let us next obſerve how the brave Band, who conquered under him, and indeed the whole American army, had been recompenſed, *officers and ſoldiers*. The firſt inſtance of gratitude exhibited by our government, was the depriving them of their proviſion, without which it is almoſt impoſſible that an American ſoldier ſhould ſubſiſt: the vaſt conſumption of neceſſaries occaſioned by the nature of that hard ſervice, from clearing communications, building bridges and forts, but above all from tranſporting proviſions, ammunition and artillery up the rivers, and the enhanced price of theſe neceſſaries, as they all come from England, by the freight and profit of the merchants, put an American ſoldier, although allowed proviſion, in a worſe condition than an European without it; particularly when we conſider, that an European ſoldier is paid for all king's or publicworks, which in America was not the caſe. But the cruelty of this meaſure was not all: it was flagitious; it was a breach of compact, at leaſt with reſpect to a great part of that army—the volunteer drafts from England, the whole body of royal Americans, and every man recruited in America, were engaged on abſolute expreſs conditions of being allowed proviſion.

viſion. Travelling from North America to the Weſt Indies, the tenderneſs of the preſent reign diſplayed towards the ſoldiery is ſtill more ſtriking; the diſtribution of the plunder of the Havannah is ſo notorious that it would be impertinent to mention it; but the motives of this diſtribution are ſo curious, that it is difficult not frequently to recur to them. They were theſe: The Earl of Bute and his great adjunct lived in perpetual apprehenſions of the late Duke of Cumberland; the firmneſs of the man, his known courage, his good ſenſe, but above all his principles and attachment to the welfare and honour of his country, rendered him an object of terror to thoſe who were determined to ſacrifice every thing to the maintenance of their own power and authority—after having revolved in their minds what was the moſt probable method of ſoftening this bar to their ſchemes into ſome complacency, it was concluded, that to win his favourite, was the plan of the moſt promiſing aſpect.

The expedition againſt the Havannah was at this time reſolved upon; the troops and fleet were in readineſs; my lord of Albermarle was on this principle appointed to the command, and on this principle ſo enormouſly enriched at the expence of the labour, health, and blood of the moſt noble deſerving army that this, or perhaps any other country, has been ever ſerved by. His lordſhip and his family were indeed aggrandized; but the great

views

views of the diſtributers were happily diſappointed. The Duke of Cumberland perſiſted in his integrity, and continued an honeſt zealous citizen, until the fatal moment when he was ſnatched away from his country. I think, without rant or exaggeration, it may be termed a fatal moment :—he was indiſputably a valuable true Engliſhman : he had in the early parts of his life, through an over zeal for reforming the army from the miſerable condition in which he found them, projected ſchemes not unexceptionable ; but thismuſt be aſcribed to a deference which he paid to the opinion of men infinitely inferior to himſelf, both in virtue and talents ; but in his latter years, his great and good qualities demonſtrated themſelves ſo fully, that we may fairly conclude, had fate ſpared him, he might at leaſt have checked the torrent of thoſe bitter waters broke in upon us from their accurſed ſource of Carleton-Houſe.—But before I take leave of America, I cannot help obſerving the extraordinary attention paid to the officers and ſoldiers in the allotment of lands ; it would be endleſs to enter into the detail of the royal or miniſterial (for theſe terms have been of late ſo confounded together that it is puzzling to diſtinguiſh them) bounty in this particular ; I ſhall inſtance one or two which may ſuffice for the whole.

It had long been ſuppoſed that the iſland of St. John's, in the gulph of St. Lawrence, would have been a profitable poſſeſſion. A ſet of officers

of

of the land and ſea ſervice, laid out a plan for the ſettlement of it. They preſented it to Government, and petitioned a grant of it. The grant was promiſed. The officers dangled from day to day for the fulfilling of this promiſe. They were ſhuffled from the Admiralty to the Board of Trade, from the Board of Trade to the Admiralty, from an Egmont to an Hilſborough, from an Hilſborough to an Egmont, for the ſpace, I believe, of three years. Egmont accuſes Hilſborough as the cauſe of this delay; Hilſborough accuſes Egmont; his Majeſty ſtands neuter betwixt theſe two righteous perſonages.

The officers danced attendance until they found themſelves on the threſhold of a jail; but at length it is decided: The officers who were the original petitioners, got half a lot. Mr. Touchit, or Touchat, (for I have not the honour of knowing how he ſpells his name), ſome court ſurgeons, and every kind of court retainer who thinks it worth his while to hint that he has no objection to an American poſſeſſion, is gratified with a whole lot.

Another ſociety of officers had ſolicited a grant of lands on the river St. Lawrence, which they undertook to ſettle; this was flatly refuſed.

Another ſociety ſolicited for lands on the lower parts of the Illinois, Ohio, or on the Miſſiſſippi: this was likewiſe rejected; but from what motives it is impoſſible to define, unleſs they ſuppoſe that

ſoldiers inveſted with a little landed property, would not be ſo readily induced to act as the inſtruments of the oppreſſion of their fellow ſubjects, as thoſe whoſe views are ſolely turned, if not reduced, to farther promotion; and if reduced, to full pay. And here I am afraid the underſtandings of our profeſſion muſt appear dreadfully low, when they can be dupes to the hopes of promotion.

Let them reflect for a moment on the mode of beſtowing, ſince the peace, the only commiſſion which by military men can be eſteemed objects; I mean regiments, and lieutenant-colonelcies; and I will venture to affirm, that not four of each have been beſtowed on men who, in the opinion of thoſe who have ſerved with them, have the ſemblance of a title. That the army on the Engliſh and on the Iriſh eſtabliſhment, and the fleet on the home and foreign ſtations, have been conſidered by our court as the precious means of corrupting us from our duty as citizens; that a plea of merit in general, or any particular action, of wounds, loſs of health or limbs by a courſe of hard ſervices, has been conſidered as a ſymptom of lunacy. And I have heard ſay, our incomparable Secretary at War values himſelf not a little for his humanity in not ſuing for ſtatutes to confine the wretches who can puſh their extravagance to ſuch a height as to make theſe pleas. It will perhaps be ſaid, that jobs are not the growth

growth of this reign; that jobs ever were, and ever will be, in a government like ours. But allowing jobs to have been, I cannot think iniquity is to be juſtified by precedent; and ſurely iniquitous precedents are very ungracefully quoted in a reign which was announced from its commencement to be that of virtue, purity, and righteouſneſs.

As to the army that ſerved in Germany, it is true they have not been ſo very groſsly treated as the American. There were moments when Lord Granby would not cede to our gracious Secretary at War. There were moments when, as our ingenious court termed it, he was obſtinate and impracticable; that is, there were moments when he inſiſted on ſome regard being paid to thoſe who had deſerved of their country; but theſe moments unfortunately occurred but too ſeldom. His facility and complacence to the wickedneſs of the Court, preponderated over his natural love of juſtice. In ſhort, the patronage of the army was left to a Barrington, by whom valour, ſenſe and integrity muſt naturally be proſcribed, as he muſt ſuſpect that no man can poſſeſs them without being an enemy to their contraries, which are the undiſputed attributes of his Lordſhip.

From this long digreſſion on the obligations of the army to the preſent Court, on the extraordinary eſteem in which the military has been held

through

through the whole courſe of the preſent reign, we returned to our original topic, the merit of the different hiſtorians.

I joined the young ſubaltern in his encomiums on Mrs. M'Cawley. I challenged the old field-officer to point out a ſuſpicious authority that ſhe had quoted; to produce a ſingle comment which did not correſpond with the facts. I aſſerted, that her inferences were fairly drawn from her premiſes; and that there could not be traced the ſhadow of partiality in the long ſeries of her hiſtory, unleſs a zeal for true liberty, and the rights of her country and of mankind, may be termed partiality. I aſſerted, that Hume was the reverſe in all reſpects; that he produced little, and that very ſuſpicious, authority; that his comments did not agree with his facts, the effects not deducible from the cauſe upon the whole, what I ſaid on the ſubject of James's hiſtory, and of the character of his favorite Charles, was ſo ſatisfactory to the company, that they requeſted me to digeſt what I offered, and to preſent it to the public.

AN EPISTLE

TO

DAVID HUME, Eſq.

SIR,

IN reading hiſtory, nothing has ſo frequently ſhocked me as the diſreſpectful and irreverent manner in which divers writers have ſpoke of crowned heads. Many princes, it muſt be owned, have acted, in ſome inſtances not altogether as we could wiſh; but it is the duty of every honeſt man, and friend to royalty, the great ſource of human happineſs, to draw a veil over their weakneſs; and if not able entirely to juſtify ſome parts of their conduct, he may at leaſt, by the aid of certain *managed terms*, and *decent ſoftenings*, in a great meaſure prevent the evil effects which a coarſe, and I may ſay barbarous relation of facts is apt to have on weak and vulgar minds. The paſſion, prejudice, and party heat of ſeveral who ſtyle themſelves hiſtorians, have, I make no doubt,

 been

been the principal cauſes of the numberleſs murmurs, inſurrections, rebellions, dethronements, expulſions, regicides, which have diſgraced the hiſtory of mankind, and more particularly of this infatuated country.

On this principle, Sir, you will readily believe, that the ſatisfaction I have received from your incomparable Hiſtory of the Houſe of the Stuarts, is of the higheſt kind; that I have peruſed it, and re-peruſed it a thouſand times, and always with freſh pleaſure; and that I ardently wiſh the youth of our country were never ſuffered to read any other; a rule which I am charmed to hear is obſerved by the moſt exalted perſonage in the kingdom, as well in virtue as in rank, whenever he condeſcends to unbend his mind from his ſevere ſtudies and occupations by dipping into the annals of his predeceſſors; and it is to this rule, perhaps, that we are indebted for the prodigious enlargement of his mind in ſo tender an age that all Europe ſtands aſtoniſhed at it.

How complaiſant, how gentle, how guarded, how humane, how polite are your phraſes, in laying before us the tranſactions of thoſe good, though perhaps miſguided, princes! How calculated are your comments to mitigate the ſeditious ſpirit of the mad multitude! Had you written an hundred years ago, I am perſuaded you would not only have prevented the growth of thoſe horrible opinions, (alas! too prevalent), That kings are

not

not only reſponſible, but puniſhable for their delinquences toward their people; That Charles the Firſt met with no harder fate than he deſerved, and that his two ſons ought, in juſtice, to have made the ſame exit. I ſay, Sir, had you written an hundred years ago, you might not only have prevented the growth of ſuch monſtrous notions; but, probably, have checked thoſe furious principles which ended in driving from the throne of his anceſtors, to the indelible diſgrace of theſe nations, a prince replete with every royal virtue.

In ſhort, Sir, I am ſo much in love with the ſcheme of your hiſtory, I am ſo convinced that no taſk can be equally laudable in a philoſopher, an hiſtorian, and a gentleman, as to endeavour to eradicate from the minds of our youth all prejudices and prepoſſeſſions againſt the memory of deceaſed, and the character of living princes; and, by obviating the cavils and malice of republican writers, to inſpire mankind with more candour in judging of the actions and government of ſovereigns, that I am determined to follow ſo bright an example, and exert the utmoſt of my zeal, ſkill, and abilities, (indeed far ſhort of yours,) to reſcue from the unmerited odium under which they lie, two much injured characters in hiſtory; I mean the Emperor Claudius Cæſar and his immediate ſucceſſor Nero, whoſe foibles and indiſcretions have been ſwelled up into vices by the auſterity and malevolence of Tacitus, Suetonius, and others,

(the Rapins, Ludlows, and M'Cauleys of thoſe days), who wrote under ſucceeding monarchs of a different family; but as the motives for ſuch virulent proceedings are now ceaſed, and as men's minds ought to be a little cooler, we may venture to pronounce the diſpoſition of theſe princes, (though I do not think they were faultleſs, or altogether well-adviſed,) to have been good.

Should the ungenerous and bigots in party raiſe a clamour, ſhould they exclaim that its being a pander to deſpotiſm, and an enemy to the rights of humanity, the endeavouring to gloſs over vices and enormities ſo manifeſt, as they pretend, by a concurrence of facts, vouched by the moſt authentic records, I ſhall conſole myſelf, Sir, with your approbation, and that of the generous few who think with you, and ſhall flatter myſelf that the attempt, whatever may be the merit of the execution, will recommend me, along with the Smollets, Scotts, Murphys, and Johnſons, to the notice of a Court which ſeems to pique itſelf in rewarding the champions and apologiſts of unpopular men and meaſures, in proportion as their labours are unſucceſsful with the narrow-minded public.

Yours, &c.

A PO-

A

POLITICAL ESSAY.

ON leaving ſchool, I thought it right to get ſome acquaintance with the hiſtory of England; for the ſchool where I was brought up was guilty, in common with all other ſchools, of the ſhameful neglect of ſuffering the boys to remain in utter ignorance of the laws, conſtitution, and tranſactions of their own country; ſome knowledge of which is certainly of more importance, at leaſt in a government like ours, than the being able to ſcan the flattering verſifyers of Auguſtus's age.

Rapin, accidentally, was the firſt hiſtorian that fell into my hands. Notwithſtanding his length, I read him through with great attention, which was more particularly engaged when I came to thoſe parts which treat of our ſeveral civil wars; but the great one of the year 1640, intereſted

me more ſenſibly than the antecedent. And I cannot expreſs how much I was amazed in finding the character of Charles the Firſt ſo little agree with the notions I had conceived of him, from his being ſtyled a Martyr; from the ſolemn obſervance of the 30th of January, in order to avert the wrath of the Almighty for that horrible parricide; from the epithets of good, virtuous, pious, bleſſed, which were perpetually beſtowed on him, not only by the old houſe-keeper, the maid-ſervants, but by the maſter, uſher, and all the clergy who happened to diſcourſe on this ſubject in my hearing. In the holidays, when we went home, my mother, grandmother, and all their female acquaintance, rung the ſame in my ears.

On the peruſal of Rapin I was, therefore, ſtrangely puzzled and confounded to find this virtuous, pious, bleſſed, holy martyr, metamorphoſed into an obſtinate, diſſembling, perfidious tyrant; and that the men whom I had been taught to execrate as rebels, traytors, parricides, ſhould, for the greater part, appear the champions of the laws of their country and the rights of mankind, fraught with truth, valour, integrity, and every attribute which can render mortal men the objects of veneration.

I had no method of accounting for this, but by concluding my hiſtorian guilty of the moſt egregious partiality, that he muſt have miſſtated, or diſguiſed the facts to an enormous degree;

gree; for as to his comments, they appeared judicious, natural, and fair, allowing the facts to be juſtly ſtated. I deſired all thoſe whom I thought more knowing and wiſe than myſelf, to ſolve theſe difficulties. Some few of them averred that Charles was not at all better than what he was repreſented by Rapin; but far the greater number aſſured me, that Rapin was a lying French Preſbyterian, partial, unjuſt, malicious, that no credit was given to him by men of judgment and knowledge, and that he was never ſpoke of with common patience by thoſe who have any generous ſentiments. They adviſed me, by all means, to go to the fountain-head of information on this ſubject, the *great Clarendon*; that *there* I ſhould ſee the facts related clearly and honeſtly, the comments ſenſible and candid, the cauſes and effects congruous, the ſpring of every action laid open, the views and characters of the actors painted in their proper colours by one who had himſelf played a principal part, or, at leaſt, ſeen every thing that had paſſed behind the ſcenes; one, whoſe authority was inconteſtable from his character for truth and integrity.

I accordingly procured a Clarendon, not only read him with attention, but ſtudied him with accuracy: and, behold the reſult! it was an entire, complete diſappointment in every circumſtance: inſtead of carrying the conviction which I expected, it appeared to me one eternal periphraſis,

ſubdivided into aſſertions without authority, childiſh ifs, without probable ſuppoſitions, and tortured inferences from miſtated or defalcated facts, with endleſs begging the queſtions. The epithets candid, ſincere, virtuous, pious were very liberally beſtowed on him, whoſe cauſe he intends to plead; and not a ſingle inſtance of candor, ſincerity, or virtue is given through the whole courſe of his hiſtory, unleſs exceſſive bigotry to epiſcopacy and a ſpirit of perſecuting all other proteſtant ſects is to be conſtrued piety. In ſhort, my averſion to Charles was rather confirmed than transferred to the other party by the peruſal of Lord Clarendon. I here diſcerned very plainly, why the epiſcopal clergy ſhould have made a Saint and a Martyr of him. His exceſſive attachment to their order, and the great ſacrifices he made to them, are undoubtedly very ſubſtantial titles to canonization, and the crown of martyrdom; but the zeal and reverence with which a multitude of others who are quite indifferent to modes of worſhip, and ſome who ſeem deſirous there ſhould be none at all, ſtill continue to ſpeak of this prince, and the indignation and horror with which they ſpeak of his opponents, I confeſs is with me a matter of wonder. I know very well, that the impreſſions we receive in our childhood ſink deep, and that theſe impreſſions, whether we receive them from our nurſes, grandmother, or the parſon of the pariſh; whether they concern ghoſts, or hobgoblings, a devil, or a ſaint, a tyrant,

a tyrant, or a martyr, are with difficulty effaced; but that thoſe who have got rid of thoſe narrow ſuperſtitious prejudices, ſhould ſtill retain, in their utmoſt force, their prepoſſeſſions with reſpect to their royal maſter is ſomething ſupernatural. I have long endeavoured to account for this, and am apt to conclude, that it muſt be aſcribed to the ſingularity of his fate. A king tried and condemned by his own ſubjects is certainly a ſingular caſe, the ſingularity of his fate has created pity, and pity ever generates love and affection. The Marquis of Beccaria, in his incomparable treatiſe on Crimes and Puniſhments, is of opinion, that a community ought to puniſh with death ſuch criminals only whoſe exiſtence is abſolutely pernicious to the community; if his reaſoning is juſt, a criminal king is almoſt the only criminal on whom death ought to be inflicted, as his exiſtence, (if not always abſolutely deſtructive,) is undoubtedly highly dangerous to ſociety. Tarquin was only expelled; Tarquin's exiſtence was nearly deſtructive to Rome; an eternal war and conſpiracies within the walls which brought Rome into the extremeſt peril, were the conſequences of the tyrant's exiſtence; and the death of the tyrant *ſimply*, unleſs it had been accompanied with that of his ſons, would not have injured the tranquillity and ſecurity of Rome.

On this principle, ſome of the Grecian States had laws levelled, not only againſt the lives of thoſe

thoſe who ſhould erect themſelves into the tyrants of their country, but enjoining the extirpation of their whole race; and theſe were wiſe and humane laws, becauſe they were neceſſary for the good of the whole, for the ſacrifice of a ſingle family for the preſervation of millions is indiſputably humanity. James the Second was expelled like Tarquin, but he and his ſons were ſuffered to eſcape with their lives; the conſequences of their being ſuffered to eſcape were three rebellions, which not only threatened immediate deſtruction to theſe nations, but endangered the liberties of Europe. It is true, theſe rebellions were defeated in their immediate purpoſes, but the exiſtence of the Stuart race hath laid, too certainly, I am afraid, the ſeeds of our deſtruction. Their exiſtence has furniſhed the miniſters of the family, which was called in for our preſervation, with pretexts for arming the family of *our preſervers*, with the means of deſtroying us; for it is impoſſible to ſuppoſe that the nation could have been brought to acquieſce in mortgaging the national property, without any viſible national purpoſes, unleſs they had imagined that national debts were a ſecurity againſt the return of the *dreaded Stuarts*; and it is impoſſible to ſuppoſe that the people could have been ſo far impoſed upon, as to ſuffer their repreſentatives to vote themſelves ſeptennial from triennial, unleſs they had been perſuaded that a ſeptennial parliament formed a ſtronger barrier againſt the

the return of the Stuarts than a triennial; and it is ſtill a greater abſurdity to ſuppoſe, that a majority of landed gentlemen, of really well meaning honeſt Engliſhmen, could be infatuated, to ſo great a degree, as to ſit down contentedly under the eſtabliſhment of a ſtanding army, the gradual augmentation of it to an enormous bulk, the interweaving of it (as it may be ſaid) into our conſtitution, had not the ſpectre of the Stuarts return continually danced before their eyes. Hence, I think, without ſtraining, it may be inferred, that the pecuniary influence of the crown, ſeptennial parliaments and a ſtanding army, (which unleſs ſome great national calamity falls out to draw us back to our firſt principles, before the minds of our ſoldiery are totally debauched,) muſt inevitably end in the deſtruction of our liberties; and perhaps national independence, have been the fruits of our miſtaken cruel moderation, in ſuffering a ſingle individual of the expelled family to remain in exiſtence. But to return from this long digreſſion to the queſtion, whether the ſingularity of Charles the Firſt's fate, tryed and condemned by his own ſubjects is not one of the principal cauſes of his memory's being treated with ſuch tenderneſs and reverence. We will ſuppoſe a caſe: but firſt admitting Beccaria's poſition to be juſt, *that a community ought not to puniſh with death any criminal whoſe exiſtence is not abſolutely pernicious, or highly dangerous to the community*; and further admitting

ing *that a criminal king is the only criminal whoſe exiſtence can be pernicious or highly dangerous.* We will ſuppoſe, then, that there ſhould hereafter be formed a community, one of whoſe fundamental laws ſhould be, That capital puniſhments ſhould be confined to delinquent kings alone; that all other delinquents, let their crimes be what they will, ſhould be ſent into exile; their eſtates, money, and goods confiſcated to the uſe of the community. I will venture to affirm, that an hundred kings, leſs guilty than Charles the Firſt, put to death on the ſcaffold, would not ſhock the humanity of the tendereſt nature.

We will farther ſuppoſe, that after a ſeries of years adherence to this law, they ſhould at length, from a concurrence of accidents, on ſome very great emergency, deviate from it, and inflict the puniſhment levelled againſt royal delinquents alone, on delinquents of an inferior order, I will venture to affirm that the ſpectacle, from its novelty, of a Jonathan Wild, a S——h, or a ***, dangling on a gallows, would affect the paſſers-by with compaſſion, and prompt their ingenuity to deviſe apologies for the *poor ſufferers;* though, previouſly to their execution, the whole world had agreed on the tranſcendency of their flagitiouſneſs, the incorrigibility of their natures, and that no fate could be too ſevere for their merits. But, although the ſingularity of Charles's deſtiny, the prejudices foſtered by the pious care of our nurſes

nurſes and the clergy, have greatly contributed to the falſe light in which his conduct, morals, and general character are ſeen, it could not have operated ſo wonderfully alone: the addreſs and ſophiſtry of a ſucceſſion of our corrupt citizens have been ſet at work, to co-operate in miſleading our judgment and blinding our underſtandings; and of this tribe the pre-eminence muſt indiſputably be given to Mr. David Hume; for the pompous anility (as I think it may be termed) of Clarendon, the more than prieſtly fury of Carte, much leſs the pert patchwork of Smollet, or the drivelling of poor Goldſmith could not have wrought any mighty miracles: but with Hume, the caſe is different; the philoſophical, or rather ſceptical character of the man, antecedent to his appearance as an hiſtorian, and a ſpeciouſneſs of ſtyle render him ſo infinitely more dangerous than his fellow labourers, that it is much to be lamented that ſome perſon, (for inſtance, a Lord Littelton,) eminent for parts and learning, has not thought it worth his while profeſſedly, (but I would have it compendiouſly, for a reaſon I ſhall hereafter give,) to expoſe to public view the incongruities, artifices, and pernicious intention of this ſophiſt. But when I lament that no man of a ſuperior ſtamp has ſet himſelf the taſk, I do not mean that extraordinary learning or talents are abſolutely neceſſary: on the contrary, I think an attentive

tentive peruſal muſt qualify every man of common ſenſe full as well for the purpoſe, if we could ſuppoſe that an equal degree of regard would be paid to him; but it is certain, that the name and ſignature of a perſon in high repute gives, to manifeſt eternal truths, greater force than when uttered by a common or unknown writer, although the eſſence of truth cannot be altered by the greater or leſſer reputation of him who utters it.

It is true, a more effectual antidote to the poiſon of Hume's hiſtory cannot be deſired than Mrs. M'Cauley's, if they are but read and compared together with their reſpective authorities; but the misfortune is, the peruſal and comparing of two ſo bulky writers cannot be expected from the lazineſs of modern readers; and it is on the notions and principles of the lazy claſs of readers that the preſent welfare of our country and the fate of poſterity, in a great meaſure, depend. In fact, of what importance would it be to the community, if thoſe very few, who have inclination and perſeverance to work through volumes, ſhould enlarge their minds to even the ſtandard of an ancient Roman, when the young nobility, gentry, and men of property, who compoſe the lazy claſs, ſtill remain perverted, uncorrected, and uninformed?

For theſe reaſons, I think that ſome work ſo com-

compendious as not to terrify by its bulk, confined ſimply, and bearing the import of ſuch in its title, to a refutation of Hume's tenets, and demonſtration of his partiality and pernicious principles, would be more beneficial than a full, complete body of hiſtory, digeſted methodically, ſupported by the beſt authority, and animated by the nobleſt ſentiments. But until ſome eminent perſon will be perſuaded to take up the employment, it is the duty of every common citizen to exert whatever force he has in the common cauſe.

A jealous ſpirit in the people, of thoſe who govern and the principle of reſiſtance, form the palladium of liberty, particularly in a limited monarchy. An abhorrence of tyrants, or even of thoſe who have a ſemblance of tyrants, (and it will ſcarcely be diſputed that Charles had a ſemblance,) is inſeparable from this jealous ſpirit and principle of reſiſtance: whoever would extinguiſh the one, would extinguiſh the other. When we ſee, therefore, a junto of notorious court-retainers, clubbing their labours to reconcile us to the deſpotic adminiſtration of Charles, to his duplicity, to his breach of faith, and violation of the moſt ſolemn compacts, we may ſafely conclude, that a deſign is lodged to extinguiſh the *neceſſary jealous ſpirit of liberty* and inculcate the principles of non-reſiſtance. It may be ſaid, that a too great jealouſy of liberty is equally dangerous with a

two great confidence; that as the latter may plunge us into ſlavery, the former may into anarchy. I ſhould allow ſome weight to this objection, if, in the whole courſe of our hiſtory, a refutation, in a ſingle inſtance, could be produced of theſe poſitions; *That the ſpirit of liberty is ſlow to act, even againſt the worſe princes, and exerts itſelf in favour of the beſt with more effect than any other ſpirit whatever.* I muſt therefore repeat, that the keeping alive the jealous ſpirit of liberty is a common cauſe; That a deteſtation of tyrants, or even of thoſe who lean to tyranny, is inſeparable from this ſpirit; That Charles the Firſt was a tyrant in principle and in action; That thoſe who labour to reconcile us to his conduct and character, would deſtroy the ſpirit of liberty, and ultimately eſtabliſh the principle of non-reſiſtance; That a junto of mercenaries and court-retainers do labour to theſe purpoſes; That it is, therefore, the duty of every common citizen, who has the intereſt of his country at heart, to exert continually whatever force he has to defeat their purpoſes; or, at leaſt, weaken their iufluence; for, in mechanicks, the ſmalleſt force continually applied will overcome the moſt violent motions communicated to bodies.

From theſe conſiderations, I purpoſe to offer to the public, hereafter, ſome curſory remarks on Mr. Hume's Hiſtory of the two firſt Stuarts: through

if they are well received, I ſhall continue them through the reigns of the two laſt. If they have, in any degree, the effects which I could wiſh, I ſhall think myſelf amply recompenſed, the only recompence which I can promiſe myſelf. I cannot hope for any glory from the compoſition; the little reading which a ſoldier can ſnatch up at intervals will ſcarcely qualify him to reap laurels in the field of literature; and it will eaſily be believed, that the ſentiments which I avow, will not procure a place or a penſion.

A BREAKFAST

FOR

RIVINGTON.

Mr. H——,

AS Mr. Rivington has given the public to understand, that he does not chuſe to deal with any writers, but thoſe of the moſt accurate and elegant kind, and who have paſſed through a regular courſe of education; and as I cannot flatter myſelf, that I am one of this claſs, I do not preſume to offer this little performance to him, though it is intended for his vindication; but, as I underſtand from the ſame authority, that you admit into your paper even the loweſt traſh, I find myſelf under the neceſſity of applying to you. Mr. Rivington has, I know, like other great men, his calumniators and enemies;—envy and malice ever were attendant on exalted genius and merit. It is inconceivable, what numbers are endeavouring to detract

tract from this wonderful perſonage; how they ſtrain their little wits to throw a ridicule upon his talents, his ſtyle, his integrity, and even his erudition. This *laſt*, one ſhould imagine, if any thing of human attainment can, is unqueſtionable, as he has given ſuch eminent and manifold proofs of it: however it does not eſcape them. I found myſelf the other night, (for as a ſtudier of men and characters I aſſociate with all ſorts,) amongſt a ſet of the moſt flaming factious enemies to all order and government; where the moſt reſpectable characters of the age were treated with ſcandalous freedom. Lord Mansfield was a Jeffries, Lord Bute a ſolemn empty pedantic Jacobite, and Mr. Rivington a ridiculous pragmatical ſlip-ſlop coxcomb: they ſaid, that he had not decency enough for the porter of a bawdy-houſe, learning enough for a barrack waſher-woman, nor imagination ſufficient for a Chriſtmas-bellman:—that at the age of fifteen he was turned out of the blue-ſchool, where he had been bred, as too incorrigible a dunce to make a ſcavenger of; that they had, by way of jocular experiment, for ſome time tried him in this capacity; but that he always, in windy days, ſwept the duſt up againſt the wind. By perſiſting in this practice he was very near loſing his eyes, and that you may obſerve they are ſtill extremely weak from its effects. At this, Sir, I own my blood boiled. I ſaid, they muſt be driven to great ſtraits indeed, if they could object nothing worſe to a

gentleman's character than his having been bred at a charity ſchool; for that it had been the caſe of ſome of the moſt illuſtrious men the nation had produced; the late Lord Hardwicke, and Mr. Prior, had been educated in the ſame manner. As to the ſtory of the weakneſs of his eyes, proceeding from ſweeping the duſt againſt the wind, I knew it to be a falſhood; for that it had been contracted, to my knowledge, by poring into a Johnſon's dictionary of his own printing, late at nights, to find out decent pollyſyllables, of ſufficient ſound and dignity, to dreſs up an advertiſement of Scotch herrings, lumber, and pickled oyſters.

I aſſerted, that his compoſitions were incomprehenſibly fine, his language ſonorous and muſical; although, perhaps, he did not always apply words to their legitimate meaning; as who does in ſuch an immenſity of buſineſs; and that he ſhould round a period with any bookſeller in Chriſtendom: That he was a Latin ſcholar, I thought muſt be allowed by all unprejudiced men, when they conſidered his numberleſs and apt quotations from Horace. Upon my mentioning his knowledge of Latin, the whole company burſt out into a horſe-laugh, which I thought was very indecent, and, when the uproar ſubſided, demanded the explanation. They inſiſted upon it, that he was ſo totally ignorant of it, that he did not know the meaning, nor could he conjugate the verbs *mentior*, nor *vapulo*, though he ſo generally practiſed the former,

former, and had ſo often experienced the latter:—that his patches of Horace were always furniſhed by his friend the Doctor—that when he had finiſhed one of his pieces, he always applied to the Doctor for a motto to dignify his performance; that, for inſtance, the four lines from Horace, prefixed to his late Epiſtle to Mr. Sears, (which I really think one of the ſmarteſt things I ever read,) were pointed out by the Doctor; and that a blunder whimſical enough had happened on this occaſion, though it was fortunately rectified in time for the preſs. They related, that when he went as uſual for his motto to the Doctor, the Doctor wrote him down theſe lines:

> While you alone ſuſtain the weighty cares
> Of all the world, and manage peace and wars;
> The Roman State by virtue's rules amend,
> Adorn with manners, and with arms defend;
> To write a long diſcourſe, and waſte your time,
> Againſt the public good, wou'd be a crime.

ſaying "Rivington, you may tranſcribe the Latin at your leiſure, as you have Horace in your ſhop; remember, it is the firſt epiſtle." Rivington went home vaſtly happy, but unluckily miſtook the firſt ſatire for the firſt epiſtle. When the Doctor went to reviſe it the next morning, he found theſe lines very fairly written—*Qui fit Mæcenas ut nemo quam*, &c. and under, the above tranſlation. They added, that though the Doctor was that morning in an horrible ill humour, (as he had juſt been reading the

Biſhop of St. Aſaph's ſpeech,) he could not refrain from laughing; but, however, after having beſtowed ſome anathemas on the ſkull of his friend, he, for the honour of the common cauſe, took the pains to tranſcribe the lines with his own hand, to prevent any further blunders. They then proceeded to fall foul upon his Engliſh; they ſaid that when he firſt ſet up his preſs, and before he was under the correction of the Doctor, he uſed always to write muſketeers, muſk-cat-ears—dragoons, dragons—battalions, battle lions; and that he really thought theſe ſtrange things were made uſe of in war; that all the words ending in *tion*, as, *flaggellation, caſtigation, ſalivation*, words he is beſt acquainted with, he ſpelt with an *ſh*. I hate the ſtory they told of him, which, although I was curſedly enraged, I confeſs made me ſmile; that writing to his niece, who was going to be married to an eminent pawnbroker in St. Martin's Lane, he began his letter thus: "My dear Kitty, as you are going to be married, and are ſo very young a girl, I would adviſe you, by all means, at leaſt, at firſt, to act with a little *cuſhion*," meaning it for *caution*. Now I would appeal to all mankind, who are not totally blinded by party and faction, whether it is credible, whether it is poſſible, that a gentleman, who has, from his cradle, been in ſome ſort a retainer of the Muſes, ſhould be guilty of ſuch groſs, ſuch ridiculous blunders. When I ſay Mr. Rivington has been a retainer of the Muſes, I do not mean,

mean, Sir, in your paltry ſphere, a meer dealer in indexes and title pages. No, Sir, his ſphere has been more enlarged. It is notorious, that when he had finiſhed his ſtudies, he was invited into a ſociety of eminent itinerary comedians; I know very well, that his enemies give out, that he only amputated the luminaries betwixt the acts; but I could bring authentic proofs of his diſtinguiſhing himſelf in ſome important characters.

February 3, 1775.

A PAMPHLET*,

ENTITLED,

"*A friendly Addreſs to all reaſonable* Ame-
"ricans, *on the Subject of our Political Con-*
"*fuſions*," gave birth to the following Performance, addreſſed TO THE PEOPLE OF AMERICA.

"Let's canvas him in his broad cardinal's hat."
SHAKESPEAR.

To the PEOPLE of AMERICA.

A PAMPHLET, entitled *A friendly Addreſs to all reaſonable Americans*, advertiſed and ſold by Mr. James Rivington of New York, is of ſo extraordinary a nature, that it is difficult for any man who is intereſted in the welfare of the community (whatever contempt he may have for the performance) to remain ſilent. I know not whether the author is a layman or eccleſiaſtic, but he

* It is ſaid to have been written by the Reverend Dr. Miles Cooper, preſident of King's College, at New-York.

bears

bears ſtrongly the characters of the latter: he has the want of candour and truth, the apparent ſpirit of perſecution, the unforgiveneſs, the deadly hatred to diſſenters, and the zeal for arbitrary *power* which has diſtinguiſhed churchmen in all ages, and more particularly the high part of the Church of England. I cannot help, therefore, conſidering him as one of this order.

The deſign of his Reverence's pamphlet, is manifeſtly to diſſolve the ſpirit of union, and check the noble ardour, prevailing through the continent; but his zeal ſo far outruns his abilities, that there is the greateſt reaſon to think that he has laboured to little effect. His diſcretion ſeems to be ſtill leſs than his genius; a man of common judgement would not ſo wantonly have attacked the general reigning principle and opinions of the people, whom he intends to intimidate or ſeduce out of their rights and privileges. For inſtance, I believe there are at leaſt ninety-nine Americans in a hundred, who think that Charles the Firſt was an execrable tyrant; that he met with no harder fate than he deſerved; and that his two ſons ought, in juſtice, to have made the ſame exit.

To deſcant, therefore, on the criminality of the reſiſtance made to that tyrant; to affect, on every occaſion, giving the title of rebellion to the civil war which brought him to juſtice, is a degree of weakneſs which no man, who is not blinded by the dæmon of Jacobitiſm could poſſibly be guilty of.

But

But to preach up in this enlightened age, as he does, in almoſt expreſs terms, paſſive obedience, is a mark of lunacy, or at leaſt it proves that the moment a head begins to itch for a mitre, it loſes the faculty of reaſoning; for if the principle of paſſive obedience is admitted, the gracious prince, for whom his Reverence profeſſes ſo great a devotion, is a downright uſurper, and the parliament, of which he ſpeaks ſo reſpectfully, Lords and Commons, are rebels and traitors.

The doctrines he aims to inculcate are as follow: *That the parliament has a right to tax you without your conſent; that the duty upon tea is no tax; that this duty is your only grievance; that the cauſe of Boſton is their own concern; that it is not your cauſe; that the puniſhment of Boſton is a juſt puniſhment; that it is lenient; that it is not equal to their crimes; that the Boſtonians are rebels, traitors, and pampered fanatics; that the Congreſs are little better; that no miſconduct of adminiſtration can juſtify or excuſe open diſreſpect; that ſubmiſſion is to be paid to the higher powers, whatever character they be; that an apoſtle enjoined ſubmiſſion to the tyrant Nero; that, of all people under heaven, the king's American ſubjects have the leaſt cauſe for complaint; that the preſent confuſion of the Colonies has been occaſioned by falſe alarms; that none of your legal rights have been invaded; no injury has been done you; and, conſequently, that you can never be juſtified in reſenting that of which you have no reaſon to complain; that you are*

no

no judges of the rights of Parliament; that the Parliament ought to act according to their own judgement, not according to yours, even in things which concern you principally or ſolely; that they aſſert they have the right in queſtion; that you have never proved they have not; that you have always believed or allowed they have, until the preſent occaſion; that the Quebec Bill is a juſt and conſtitutional bill; that the Canadians are likely to prove the beſt and moſt loyal ſubjects in his Majeſty's American dominions; that there is too much reaſon to believe, that the minds of the Americans are unprincipled, and their hearts diſpoſed for rebellion; that, ſince the reduction of Canada, they have been bloated with a vain opinion of their own power and importance; that the iſland of Great Britain is able to govern, (that is, to dragoon,) ten Americas; that the moment it is known that America is no longer under the protection of Great Britain, all the maritime powers of Europe would join to ravage your ſea-ports, plunder and ſeize your ſhips, merely for the pleaſure of ravaging; that all the*

* This is perhaps the moſt prepoſterous idea that ever was hatched in a diſtempered brain. America (more particularly ſince the diſtractions in Poland have taken place) has been the great granary, or *cella penaria* of Europe. Is it poſſible to conceive, that the different maritime powers ſhould unite to deprive themſelves of the chief means of ſubſiſtence, merely for the ſun's ſake? Is it not more natural to ſuppoſe, that they would outbid each other for your friendſhip and commerce, on which ſo much depends? When the Low Countries withdrew themſelves from the

the maritime powers of the world would not diſpoſſeſs Great Britain of the empire of the ſea, even when America is ſeparated from her. Now I challenge the world to produce ſo many wicked ſentiments, ſtupid principles, audaciouſly falſe aſſertions, and monſtrous abſurdities, crouded together into ſo ſmall a compaſs. All his poſitions, indeed, are ſo ſelf-evidently abſurd and falſe, that it would be an inſult to American underſtanding, ſeriouſly to attempt refuting them. I ſhall only beg leave to take notice of the curious argument he uſes to prove the duty on tea to be no tax, it is, that *unleſs we conſent to the tax, we are not to pay the duty; we may refuſe purchaſing it if we pleaſe.* The ſame logic would demonſtrate that a duty on beer, candles, or ſoap would be no tax: as we are not abſolutely obliged to drink beer, we may drink water; we may go to bed before it is dark, and we are not forced to waſh our ſhirts. His aſſertion that Great Britain, when divorced from her colonies, will ſtill hold the empire of the ſeas, in ſpite

the dominion of Spain, did England, France, and the other powers, immediately ſet about ravaging their ſea-ports and ſeizing their ſhips? Did they not, on the contrary, exert themſelves, directly and indirectly, to aſſiſt them? The caſe is ſimilar; the event would be ſimilar, and that Great Britain would not be powerful enough at ſea, when ſeparated from her Colonies, to prevent this aſſiſtance, I ſhall refer my readers to Maſſie's Eſtimates, the authority of which has never been diſputed, and which demonſtrate that more than half the naval power of Great Britain ſtands on her American foundation.

of all the powers of the world, is ſtill more ingenious. It amounts to this, *that without the poſſible means of procuring timber, iron, plank, maſts, pitch, tar, or hemp, to furniſh out a ſingle frigate, they may build more ſhips than all the world put together; that when her nurſery for ſeamen is deſtroyed, and all the commerce on which the exiſtence of ſeamen depends is annihilated, they will then be able to man more fleets than the whole univerſe put together.* But I am aſhamed of treſpaſſing on the public patience, in making ſtrictures on ſuch ridiculous articles, I ſhall therefore paſs to ſome queſtions which have not been ſo much agitated, and on which, if I miſtake not, his Reverence lays the greateſt ſtreſs; for, as he modeſtly declares, that he has no opinion of your courage, it was natural for him to conſider intimidation and terror, as the moſt powerful figures of rhetoric. *Regular armies from Great Britain, Heſſians, Hanoverians, royal ſtandards erected, ſkilful generals, legions of Canadians, and unnumbered tribes of ſavages, ſwords flaming in the front and rear, peſtilence, deſolation, and famine,* are all marſhalled in a moſt dreadful order by this church militant author. But let us ſomewhat minutely examine the picture, and ſee whether, ſtripped of its falſe colouring, it has any thing really terrifying. His Reverence begins with aſſuring us, that there is no room to doubt but that ſuch an army as was employed in the reduction of Canada (that is, an army of 7000 men) would be more

more than ſufficient for the conqueſt of all the diſaffected American colonies, which are, in fact, all the colonies, ſhould *ſuch* a reſolution become neceſſary in order to reduce them to obedience. For my own part, I think there is very great reaſon to doubt that 7000, even of the beſt troops, are able to conquer 200,000, of the moſt diſorderly peaſantry upon earth, if they are animated in defence of every thing they hold moſt dear and ſacred; and there is ſtill greater reaſon to doubt that 7000 very indifferent troops, compoſed of the refuſe of an exhauſted nation, few of whom have ſeen action of any kind, ſhould be able to conquer 200,000 active vigorous yeomanry, fired with the noble ardour we ſee prevalent through the continent, all armed, all expert in the uſe of arms, almoſt from their cradles. The ſucceſs of Quebec, it is true, does infinite honour to the Engliſh arms; the army was, I believe, only 7000; the enemy were perhaps more than double, but 16,000 men are not 200,000. The fate of Canada depended upon one deciſive action, but it is impoſſible to calculate how many victories muſt be gained before theſe Colonies could be ſubdued; whereas a ſingle victory gained by the Colonies muſt decide the conteſt in their favour. In the affair of Quebec, there is another circumſtance to be conſidered; it was Wolfe who commanded, a man of the moſt wonderful talents, formed to level all difficulties, to render the moſt deſpicable ſoldiery almoſt inſtantaneouſly

ſtantaneouſly an army of heroes. In ſhort, the genius of the man was ſo extraordinary, the event was ſo extraordinary, that no inferences can be drawn from it; but this, without preſumption, may be aſſerted, that no general, now exiſting in the Britiſh ſervice, would, with double or treble his number, have ſucceeded in the ſame circumſtances.

One thing more I muſt add in honour of that illuſtrious perſonage, that the ſame greatneſs of ſoul which qualified him to conquer the natural hereditary enemies of this country, would have made him reject with horror the hangman's office; which others, who are not endowed with conquering attributes, will, with readineſs, accept.

It is notorious, that Mr. Wolfe was not only the firſt of ſoldiers, but that he was a moſt liberal virtuous citizen; that he was paſſionately attached to the liberties of his country, and of mankind; and that he was particularly an enemy to large ſtanding armies, in time of peace. It is, on the other hand, remarkable, that all the advocates for ſtanding armies, all thoſe who are the fondeſt of the faddling and parade of war, are the moſt active in avoiding real ſervice.

This tremendous foothſayer, on the ſuppoſition, that ſo great a miracle ſhould happen in our favour, as that the trifling body of 500,000 men, though firmly united (for every man in America, firmly united, would not amount to leſs) ſhould be able to withſtand his 70000, goes on to rattle in our

ears

ears armies of Heſſians and Hanoverians. I wiſh to Heaven he had for once deviated into probability and truth. I wiſh 10,000 of them could poſſibly be tranſported to-morrow. The purpoſe they would anſwer, is a purpoſe devoutly to be wiſhed for, they would be an addition to this continent of juſt ſo many uſeful and excellent citizens; for I will venture to affirm, affirming is infectious, that in leſs than four months not two of theſe 10,000 would remain with their colours. But does not this reverend Gentleman know, that in the year 1764, a convention was formed by moſt of the princes of the empire, at the head of which convention were the emperor himſelf and the king of Pruſſia, to prevent the alarming emigrations which threatened depopulation to Germany? Does he not know that no troops can march out of the empire without the conſent of the Emperor? Does he not know that the Elector of Hanover and the Emperor are upon exceeding ill terms? Does he not know that the Elector of Hanover and the King of Pruſſia are ſtill upon worſe? Is he ſure that the Landgrave of Heſſe would ſell his troops? For, as not one man would return back to their country, he muſt conſider them as for ever ſold. Is he ſure that, as the finances of Great Britain ſtand, the vaſt ſum neceſſary for this purchaſe would be conveniently found? Is he ſure that the ſtate of Hanover would conſent to ſuch a draining of their country? I know not how it is; but his moſt

moſt excellent Majeſty George the Third, who in England is juſtly eſteemed the moſt gracious of ſovereigns, the wiſeſt, greateſt, and beſt of kings, is not very popular in the Electorate of Hanover. Theſe people ſeem to think it hard, that 270,000 l. ſhould annually be drawn from them, for the purpoſes, as they conceive it, of corrupting the members of St. Stephen's Chapel, in order to ſupport the power and authority of a ſet of men, who, from the beginning, have been enemies to the ſucceſſion of the Hanover line, and who ſhewed a particular animoſity to their laſt and favourite prince George the Second. But theſe difficulties, (great and unſurmountable as to a common mortal they appear,) our divine exorciſt has, in an inſtant, conjured down; and by a ſingle motion of his enchanted wand, has tranſported whole armies in ſpite of their reſpective princes, and without the conſent of their reſpective ſtates, from the interior parts of Germany, acroſs the Atlantic into the plains of New England and Pennſylvania; but he does not confine himſelf to the introduction of his Germans. He proceeds next to erect the royal ſtandard, to which he tells us, that all who have the courage to declare themſelves now friends to government, will undoubtedly reſort; and theſe, he ſays, in a good cauſe, will be of themſelves formidable to their oppoſers. Dreadfully formidable they muſt be indeed! There would reſort to it; let me ſee, for the reſpectable town of Rye,

have declared themſelves a kind of neutrals, *rather than friends to government*; there would reſort to it, Mr. Juſtice Sewell, the honourable Mr. Paxton, Brigadier Kuggles, and about eight or ten more *mandamus* council-men, with perhaps twice their number of expectants, and not leſs than twenty of the unrecanted Hutchinſonian addreſſers: theſe the four provinces of New England alone would ſend forth. New York would furniſh ſix, ſeven, or probably eight volunteers, from a certain knot, who are in poſſeſſion or expectation of contracts, and the fourth part of a dozen of high-flying Church of England Romaniſed prieſts. I repreſent to myſelf the formidable countenance they will make, when arranged under the royal or miniſterial ſtandard; but what will add to the terror of the appearance will be their Reverend Pontifex himſelf, whom I conceive marching in the front, an inquiſitorial frown upon his brow, his bands and canonicals floating to the air, bearing a croſs in his hands, with the tremendous motto, *in hoc ſigno vinces*, flaming upon it in capital letters of blood, leading them on and exciting them to victory. It is impoſſible that men, who are not under an infatuation by the judgment of Heaven, ſhould flatter themſelves, that forty thouſand American yeomanry; for we are aſſured by the ſame great authority, that more than forty thouſand cannot be brought to action, ſhould ſtand the ſhock of this dreadful phalanx.

But

But I ſhould beg pardon for attempting to be ludicrous, upon a ſubject which demands our utmoſt indignation. I ſhall now, therefore, on the preſumption that the people of England ſhould be ſo loſt to ſenſe, virtue, and ſpirit, as to ſuffer their profligate miſ-rulers to perſevere in their preſent meaſures, endeavour to ſtate to you what is their force, and what is yours. I ſhall endeavour to remove the falſe terrors which this writer would hold out in order to intimidate you from the defence of your liberties and thoſe of poſterity, that he and his ſimilars may wallow in ſinecures and benefices heaped up from the fruits of your labour and induſtry. Great Britain has, I believe, of infantry at home, comprehending Ireland, and excluſive of the guards, fifteen thouſand men. They find the greateſt difficulty in keeping the regiments up to any thing near their eſtabliſhment: what they are able to procure are of the worſt ſort. They are compoſed of the moſt debauched weavers, apprentices, the ſcum of the Iriſh Roman Catholics, who deſert upon every occaſion, and a few Scotch, who are not ſtrong enough to carry packs. This is no exaggeration; thoſe who have been lately at Boſton, repreſent the ſoldiers there (one or two regiments excepted) as very defective in ſize, and apparently in ſtrength. But we ſhall be told they are ſtill regulars, and regulars have an irreſiſtible advantage. There is, perhaps, more impoſition in the term regular troops, than in any

of the jargon which iſſues from the mouth of a quack doctor. I do not mean to inſinuate, that a diſorderly mob are equal to a trained diſciplined body of men; but I mean, that all the eſſentials, neceſſary to form infantry for real ſervice, may be acquired in a few months *. I mean, that it is very poſſible for men to be clothed in red, to be expert in all the tricks of the parade, to call themſelves regular troops, and yet, by attaching themſelves principally or ſolely to the tinſel and ſhow of war, be totally unfit for real ſervice. This, I am told, is a good deal the caſe of the preſent Britiſh infantry. If they can acquit themſelves tolerably in the puerile reviews, exhibited for the amuſement of royal maſters and miſſes in Hyde Park, or Wimbledon Common, it is ſufficient.

In the beginning of the late war, ſome of the

* There cannot be a ſtronger illuſtration of the truth here advanced, than the Pruſſian army. They are compoſed of about one-third of the King's ſubjects, two-thirds foreigners. The third conſiſting of his own ſubjects are, when the exerciſing ſeaſon is over, which laſts ſix or ſeven weeks, ſuffered to return to their families, and attend to the buſineſs of huſbandry. Half of the other two-thirds, conſiſting of foreigners, are not only permitted, but encouraged to work at their trades in the garriſon towns, and never touch a muſquet for the reſt of the year. So that, in fact, only one-third are, in the modern language, to be called regular ſoldiers: theſe generally make their eſcape the firſt opportunity. It may be ſaid, therefore, that the King of Pruſſia has gained all his victories with a ſort of militia.

moſt

moſt eſteemed regular regiments were ſent over to this country; they were well dreſſed, they were well powdered, they were perfect maſters of their manual exerciſe, they fired together in platoons; but fatal experience taught us, that they knew not how to fight. While your militia were frequently crowned with ſucceſs, theſe regulars were defeated or baffled for three years ſucceſſively, in every part of the Continent. At length, indeed, after repeated loſſes and diſgraces, they became excellent troops, but not until they had abſolutely forgotten every thing which, we are aſſured, muſt render regulars quite irreſiſtible. The corps ſent from this country under General Monkton, was, I believe, for its number, one of the beſt armies that ever was led to conqueſt; and yet, if I have been rightly informed, there was not a ſingle regiment of them that could go through the manual exerciſe, or, at beſt, they performed it moſt wretchedly. It is likewiſe ſaid, that when, after their glorious and rapid conqueſt of Martinico, they were joined by the ſpruce regiments from Europe, ſuch was their uncooth appearance, that they were ſcarce honoured with the title of ſoldiers by thoſe gentlemen. Upon the whole, it is moſt certain that men may be ſmartly dreſſed, keep their arms bright, be called regulars, be expert in all the anticks of a review, and yet be very unfit for real action. It is equally certain, that a militia, by confining themſelves to eſſentials, by a ſimplification of the neceſſary ma-

nœuvres, may become, in a very few months, a moſt formidable infantry. The yeomanry of America have, beſides, infinite advantages over the peaſantry of other countries; they are accuſtomed from their infancy to fire arms; they are expert in the uſe of them: whereas the lower and middle people of England, are, by the tyranny of certain laws, almoſt as ignorant in the uſe of a muſquet, as they are of the ancient catapulta. The Americans are likewiſe, to a man, ſkilful in the management of the inſtruments neceſſary for all military works; ſuch as ſpades, pick-axes, hatchets, &c. Taking, therefore, all circumſtances into conſideration, there will be no raſhneſs in affirming, that this continent may have formed for action, in three or four months, one hundred thouſand infantry; for as to the aſſertion of one friendly adviſer, that *no more than forty thouſand could act to advantage*, I confeſs I do not underſtand it, nor does he, I believe, underſtand it himſelf. If he means that ſixty thouſand men cannot be ranged in a field, capable of containing only forty thouſand, we ſhall all agree with him; but how, in the operation of a war, upon a vaſt continent, double this number ſhould be a diſadvantage, I can have no conception.

Let one ſimple general plan be adopted for the formation and ſubdiviſion of your battallions; let them be inſtructed only in ſo much of the manual exerciſe as to prevent confuſion, and ac-

cidents

cidents in loading and firing; let them be taught to form, to retreat, to advance, to change their front, to rally by their colours; let them be taught to reduce themſelves from a line of fire to a line of impreſſion, that is, from two deep to four, ſix, or eight. This is all ſo eaſy and ſimple, that it may be acquired in three months. Let ſome plan of this ſort be adopted, I ſay, and there is no doubt but that, in the time I have aſcribed, you may have an army on foot of ſeventy, eighty, or an hundred thouſand men, equal to all the ſervices of war.

Should this be admitted, it will be ſtill objected that you have no able officers to conduct you. I do not know that you have, but is it certain that thoſe ſent to dragoon you have better? I have taken ſome pains to inform myſelf what methods theſe gentlemen, ſaid to be bred to arms, take to qualify themſelves in a ſuperior degree for the profeſſion. What is their rotine of inſtruction? Do they read much? I am aſſured that they do not. From books alone the theory of war can be acquired, and the Engliſh ſervice, in times of peace, affords them no practical leſſons! for mounting guard once or twice a week, or the preparation for the review of a ſingle regiment, can never be eſteemed as ſuch *.

Another

* It is much to be lamented that the gentlemen of the army do not apply more of the many leiſure hours they have

Another circumſtance, Americans, may be added for your comfort; it has been allowed by ſome of the moſt candid of the regulars themſelves, that during the laſt war upon this continent, your countrymen, the provincial field officers, were in general more underſtanding and capable than their own of the ſame rank. But the hiſtory of the civil war in the year 1641, furniſhes us with the ſtrongeſt inſtances that excellent officers may be ſoon formed from country gentlemen, citizens, lawyers, and far-

upon their hands, to reading. The majority of them are of a generous diſpoſition, which, did they cultivate, by converſing with the great hiſtorians and orators of antiquity, and the more liberal political writers of our own country, a ſtanding army would be ſomething leſs an object of jealouſy to all virtuous citizens. We might perhaps ſee them, inſtead of being advocates and partizans of the preſent miniſtry, a check upon their wickedneſs. I am inclined to think that few, or none of the officers have condeſcended to inform themſelves of the merit of the preſent conteſt. Let me conjure them, for once, to read cooly and candidly the whole proceſs; afterwards to lay their hands upon their hearts, and anſwer, whether the people of America in general, and of Boſton in particular, are more ſinned againſt, or ſinning?

Now I am upon the ſubject of the officers of the army, I take the opportunity of mentioning, with the reſpect due to him, one gentleman of high rank among them. His general conduct while in command was ſo liberal, and his letters quoted in the Houſe of Commons, were ſo fair, candid, and friendly to the Continent, that he is entitled to the thanks of America. He is indeed of a country that owes not only its proſperity, but its exiſtence, to the ſame principles, which actuate America.

mers. The parliament's army, or, as our prieſtly writer would call them, the rebellious republicans, were chiefly compoſed of this claſs of men. In the beginning of this war, they were treated with the ſame affected contempt, and almoſt in the ſame opprobious terms as you, the people of America, are by your friendly and decent adviſer.

Whoever would infer from the tenor of theſe papers, that the writer is deſirous of precipitating, or could look with indifference upon the calamities of a civil war, does him great injuſtice. He conſiders them with all the horror natural to a feeling man and honeſt citizen. He execrates the memory of thoſe men, to whom they may be juſtly attributed; but he is perſuaded that they never originated, at leaſt in ſtates of any conſiderable extent, in the turbulent diſpoſitions of the people, nor in the arts of demagogues, but in the oppreſſion of their rulers, in the wantonneſs, folly, pride, or avarice of kings, miniſters, or governors. The Griſlers of Switzerland, the Granvels of Holland, the Lauds and Straffords of England, were the undoubted authors of the tragedies, acted in their reſpective countries; and if this continent ſhould be ſtained with the blood of a ſingle citizen, it can never be charged to the unreaſonable pretenſions of the people, but to the Barnards, Hutchinſons, and ſome other traitors of a ſimilar ſtamp.

He is convinced, that being prepared for a civil war is the ſureſt means of preventing it; that to keep

keep the ſwords of your enemies in their ſcabbards, you muſt whet your own. He is convinced, that remonſtrances, petitions, prayers, and ſupplications, will make no impreſſions on our callous court, and abandoned parliament. England, Ireland, America, even Guernſey, Jerſey, and Minorca, are witneſſes of their inefficacy. He is convinced, that fear alone can operate; there are ſymptoms that it already begins to operate. The monſter Tyranny already begins to pant; preſs her now with ardour, and ſhe is down. Already the miniſtry have expreſſed in their letter an inclination to make ſome conceſſions, to meet you half-way, which, I ſuppoſe, may be conſtrued thus, "that as they find they have it not in their power to eſtabliſh, by force, the deſpotiſm which they aimed at, they ſhall be very well ſatisfied if you will juſt cede ſo much of your rights and privileges as will enable them, by extending their pecuniary influence, and ſapping your virtue, to take away the reſt at their leiſure."

There now remains, people of America, one conſideration, which, however it may be taken, I think it my duty to offer. Hiſtory tells us, that the free States of Greece, Thebes, Sparta, Athens, and Syracuſe, were all, in their turns, ſubjugated by the force or art of tyrants. They almoſt all, in their turns, recovered their liberty and deſtroyed their tyrants. The firſt act, upon the recovery of their liberty, was to demoliſh thoſe badges of

ſlavery, citadels, ſtrong-holds, and military tenements; the Switzers did the ſame; the people of England, loſt in corruption and lethargy as they are, could never be prevailed upon to ſuffer barracks amongſt them; even the courtly Blackſtone is ſtartled at the idea. No ſeparate camps, no barracks, no inland fortreſſes, ſays he, ſhould be allowed; in fact, wherever barracks are, freedom cannot be ſaid to exiſt, or ſhe exiſts ſo lamely, as ſcarcely to deſerve the name.

It is worth your conſideration, Americans, whether theſe badges ſhould remain or no. I ſhall now conclude, brave citizens, with invoking the Almighty God, from whom all virtues flow, to continue you in that ſpirit of unanimity and vigor which muſt enſure you ſucceſs, and immortalize you through all ages, as the champions and patrons of the human race.

TO THE

GENTLEMEN

OF THE

Provincial Congreſs of Virginia.

THE addreſſes preſented to their lieutenant governor by the Council, and eleven polluted members of the Aſſembly of New-York, are, to every ſenſible thinking American, of infinitely a more alarming nature, than the threats of the miniſter, the *brutum fulmen* of the king's ſpeech, (if that can properly be termed the king's ſpeech,) which the miniſter has publicly avowed to be his own compoſition*, or the echoing back this ſpeech by a hireling majority of the peers to their paymaſter; for as long as a ſpirit of union ſubſiſts through this continent; and as long

* The affected friends to Government often complain, that his Majeſty is not treated with the reſpect due to his character and ſtation; but it appears to me, that a miniſter's declaring in an open ſenate, that the ſpeech from the throne is not the king's, but his own, is going beyond diſreſpect: It is a moſt outrageous inſult; it is repreſenting his Majeſty as a mere puppet, that ſqueaks juſt as the prompter breathes.

as

as the people at home have reaſon to think that this ſpirit does ſubſiſt; theſe threats of the miniſter, although vibrated from the ſounding-board of the throne, and the echoing it back by a hired chorus of peers, muſt caſt more ridicule upon thoſe by whom they are uttered than give terror to thoſe at whom they are levelled. But the ſuſpicion or report of any defection amongſt ourſelves, is a matter of moſt ſerious concern; it behoves you, therefore, gentlemen, it behoves every Provincial Congreſs of the continent, to conſider immediately of ſome effectual means to prevent the miſchievous conſequences, intended by theſe abandoned and ſenſeleſs men. Have we then formed a general aſſociation of our provinces? Have we pledged ourſelves to each other, to our poſterity, to mankind? Have we made ſo great, temporary at leaſt, ſacrifices in the glorious cauſe of liberty? Have we confounded our enemies by a ſtrain of virtue, ſcarcely credible in theſe modern ages, and with a ſpirit of harmony that has ſurpaſſed the moſt ſanguine expectation? Have we acted this noble part? And ſhall the council, and eleven contemptible Aſſembly-men of New-York, attempt to render all we have done abortive? Contemptible in all reſpects, in numbers, in underſtanding, in knowledge, and in principles! For what other tendency can their addreſſes to their lieutenant governor poſſibly have, but to counteract the reſolves of the Congreſs, and

render

render every thing you have done, abortive? Theſe compoſitions of puſillanimity, abject ſervility, and diſguſting folly, amount ſimply to this: *That the utmoſt exertion of this united continent, conſiſting of half a million of fighting men, can have no effect; that all the reſiſtance, civil or military, which they can make, muſt be in vain; but that redreſs alone muſt be ſought, and can be expected from the magnanimity of the Britiſh nation, and the known goodneſs and virtue of the King.* Gracious Heaven! grant us patience to be told, that we are to expect any thing from the magnanimity of a people who, for twelve years ſucceſſively, have ſuffered themſelves to be inſulted, diſgraced, trampled upon, plundered, and butchered with impunity! Or to be told, that we are to look up to the goodneſs and virtue of a king, who for the ſame number of years has been influenced to make inceſſant war upon the property, rights, privileges, laws, honour, and integrity of his people, in every part of the Empire, is enough to drive moderation itſelf into violence.

But, continue theſe admirable ſenators, *what opens ſtill a ſurer proſpect of redreſs is, that his excellency governor Tryon is now near the throne*; ſo it ſeems, that what the petitions, ſupplications, remonſtrances of the whole colonies, of the city of London, of the great commercial towns, of the leading counties of England, what the voice of policy, reaſon, juſtice, and humanity, could not affect,

Colonel

Colonel Tryon's being in England will accomplish.

I know not whether this Colonel Tryon is a man of ſo extraordinary talents, eloquence, and influence, as to work theſe mightly miracles: I never underſtood that he was; but I am ſure, if he has common ſenſe, and any manly feelings, he cannot help being ſomewhat diſguſted, at this ill-timed impertinent flattery; and that he muſt conceive the greateſt contempt for the paraſites who, regardleſs of the moſt important concerns of their country and humanity, and at the very criſis which is to determine *whether themſelves and their poſterity are to be freemen or ſlaves*, could ſtep out of their way to offer up incenſe to an unimportant individual. It may by ſaid, this is all declamation; it may be ſo, but it is a declamation which an honeſt zeal in the public cauſe has forced me into. It is now time, gentlemen, to deviſe ſome means of putting a ſtop to this cancer before it ſpreads to any dangerous degree. You, gentlemen, of Virginia, and your neighbours of Maryland, have perhaps theſe means in your hands. I would propoſe then, that after a ſpirited manifeſto expreſſing your abhorrence of the council*, and

* I cannot perſuade myſelf that the council were unanimous in this infamous addreſs; there are individuals amongſt them of known probity, ſenſe, and patriotiſm. But theſe gentlemen,

and proſtitute eleven of New-York, you ſhould proceed to puniſh the individuals of this wicked junto who are in your power. Some of them have great contracts for wheat, and corn in theſe provinces, from Norfolk, Alexandria, Cheſter, Baltimore, and other parts. They export prodigious quantities, and enrich themſelves conſiderably by this commerce. I would propoſe, that all commerce with theſe aſſaſſins ſhould be laid immediately under an interdict; that not a ſingle ſhip belonging to a counſellor of New-York, unleſs he purges himſelf by oath from having conſented to the addreſs, or of one of the proſtitute eleven, ſhould be furniſhed with a freight within the capes Henry or Charles; and I have that opinion of the virtue of theſe provinces, to think your injunctions would be efficacious. But here I muſt beg leave to pauſe for an inſtant, and aſk pardon of the public for my apparent preſumption. An individual who offers his thoughts to ſo reſpectable a body, as a Congreſs, delegated by the voice of a whole people, has certainly the air of preſumption. It is in ſome meaſure attributing to himſelf ſuperior lights and abilities; but, on the other hand, it is allowed, that an individual has frequently been fortunate enough to chalk out lines in which the moſt ſagacious and reſpectable bodies

tlemen, ſo far from objecting to the obligation of purging themſelves by oath of having any ſhare of the guilt, will rejoice in the opportunity of acquitting themſelves.

have

have not diſdained to walk. If his propoſals, or hints, be weak and abſurd, they will naturally be laughed at; but if his intentions be honeſt, the conſciouſneſs of having acted from motives of rectitude, and the love of his country, will ſufficiently compenſate for any ridicule which his ſcheme can incur. I would therefore wiſh, that what I offer ſhould rather be underſtood as hints than advice. If theſe hints are attended to, I ſhall reap no perſonal glory; if they are deſpiſed, I ſhall be no perſonal ſufferer, as my name will probably never be known. But to proceed with my propoſals, or hints, in which latter light I am moſt deſirous they ſhould be conſidered, I could wiſh, to the above-mentioned manifeſto, was ſubjoined, the warmeſt letter of thanks to the virtuous ten of the Aſſembly of New-York, for their endeavours to ſtem the profligacy and wickedneſs of the majority, and for the noble part they have acted as true Americans and excellent citizens; that another addreſs, no leſs warm, ſhould be preſented to the gentlemen and people of New-York at large, expreſſing your opinion of their honeſty and public ſpirit, and lamenting their peculiar circumſtances; which, to thoſe who are ſtrangers to theſe circumſtances, may inculcate a belief that they alone are exceptions to the character of patriotiſm, which the Americans are now indiſputably entitled to. But above all, I could wiſh that it were recommended to every province of the continent, more particularly to their imme-

diate neighbours of Pennſylvania, the Jerſeys, and Connecticut, not to ſuffer one of this depraved undecemvirate to ſet his foot on their territories, until he invokes the forgiveneſs of his country, and ſolemnly engages, that his future life ſhall be employed in making compenſation for his preſent conduct, of ſo obviouſly a michievous tendency. The epithets proſtitute, profligate, &c. which I have ſo freely made uſe of, may probably appear illiberal; but, when we conſider the miſchievous conſequences which the conduct of theſe Council and Aſſembly-men of New-York are fraught with, it muſt be allowed, that no language can furniſh opprobrious terms adequate to their delinquency. I am far indeed from apprehending that their weight and influence are ſufficient to ſhake the virtue of the continent, or occaſion any defection. I do not believe that an individual, much leſs a ſet of men, will be found who will be ſtupid and wicked enough to tread in their ſteps; the infamous * * * of Philadelphia, and a ſmall perverſe drivelling knot of Quakers, who form his Senate and Court excepted.

This *Worthy* fixed his reſidence at New-York, with the profeſſed intention of working, with ſome congenial ſpirits in that city, towards the ruin of the whole fabric which the Congreſs had been raiſing. Indeed, it is moſt probable, that he was the principal compiler, if not the dictator, of theſe wretched addreſſes. The ſtyle and ſentiments are cer-

certainly his: the ſame miſt, fog, and darkneſs, which overcaſt all his productions, envelope theſe addreſſes; and the ſame narrow, crooked politics, low cunning, malignancy, and treachery, diſcoverable through the miſt, fog, and obſcurity of all his works and actions, betray themſelves in theſe addreſſes.

It may now be aſked, as I have repreſented the character, weight and credit of theſe eleven Aſſembly-men, of the majority of the Council of New-York, and their Philadelphian coadjutor, or, more properly, dictator, in ſo deſpicable a light, wherefore ſhould I ſound the alarm? What miſchiefs can poſſibly reſult from the utmoſt ſuch men can do? I anſwer, that although they can neither occaſion any defection, nor preſent the leaſt proſpect of ſucceſs to the enemies of America and liberty, they can do very conſiderable miſchief: they can procraſtinate the iſſue; they can, and moſt probably will, prolong the inconveniencies which we muſt, more or leſs, feel during the conteſt. There is nothing more certain than that the miniſtry have proceeded to the enormous lengths they have done upon the preſumption, that the attacks upon Boſton would not have been taken up by the other provinces as the cauſe of the whole*. There is, therefore, nothing more

* That this is the principle they acted upon, is now put out of diſpute by the conduct of Lord North in the Houſe of Commons, and ſome ſpeeches directed to him.

certain, than that the appearance of our firmneſs and unanimity, muſt ſoon have overthrown them, or forced them into a total change of meaſures; but the leaſt appearance, that this firmneſs and unanimity no longer ſubſiſts, will encourage them to perſiſt, and will enable them to keep their ground ſome time longer. Theſe addreſſes of New-York will give this appearance; ſo that whatever the gentlemen, the merchants, the tradeſmen, the mechanicks, and the people of America at large, ſuffer from the prolongation of the conteſt, whatever ſhall be added to the diſtreſſes and burden of the people at home, whatever ſhall further impair the commerce, ſtrength, credit, and reputation of the mother country, and bring her ſtill nearer to total bankruptcy and ruin; whatever ſhall farther alienate the affections of the child from the parent, may juſtly be imputed to this abject Council and eleven proſtitute Aſſembly-men of New-York.

ON

ON A

FAMOUS TRIAL

IN THE

COURT OF COMMON PLEAS,

BETWEEN

GENERAL MOSTYN,

GOVERNOR OF MINORCA,

AND AN

INHABITANT OF THAT ISLAND.

IT is a maxim with the Emperors of China, when the people of any of their provinces offer up complaints of their governors, immediately to recal them, to hear the charges brought againſt them, and, if they are found guilty, to puniſh them in proportion to their delinquency; and ſuch is the parental complacency of thoſe eaſtern monarchs for their ſubjects, that even when the grievances complained of prove ill-founded, the governor who has had the misfortune, though innocently, to incur the ill-opinion of the people, is never more employed, in the ſame capacity, over that or any other province, his having been

ſuſpected of mal-adminiſtration being deemed a total diſqualification. Though the juſtice of this maxim may not be univerſally admitted, it certainly is a wiſe one, as it is founded on a reſpect and deference of the public wiſhes; to which, when it can be done compatibly with the public ſafety, the prince ought to pay the greateſt regard. But, how different has been the rule of conduct obſerved through the whole preſent reign! Does a governor render himſelf completely odious to the people over whom he is ſet to preſide?—he is that inſtant adopted a favourite at court. The infamous Bernard, who was not only arraigned, but ſtands convicted, in the opinion of all mankind, of one continual ſeries of miſrepreſentation, falſehoods, treachery, and every ſpecies of treaſon to the people of his government, was continued until the laſt poſſible moment; and, when recalled, ſo far from meeting with the cenſures he had merited, that he was exalted to the rank of a baronet, and had an ample proviſion made for him in Ireland. And this public reward for delinquency has had the effect which muſt naturally be expected; for his ſucceſſor in office, it is reported, pitches many bars beyond him in perfidy and wickedneſs, for which he probably expects an Iriſh peerage. And, to ſay the truth, if our court acts conſiſtently with itſelf, they are obliged, as his merits are ſtill greater, to confer on him a

higher title, and a more ample proviſion than on the baronet his predeceſſor.

If we turn our eyes towards Ireland, the decency and kindneſs exhibited by the court for that people is ſtill more ſtriking. The late viceroy, by talents peculiar to himſelf, almoſt on his firſt landing, incurred the contempt and deteſtation of the whole kingdom, to a man. This was a ſufficient, and, apparently, the only motive of his being continued for a long five years in his ſtation; for, what other motive can be conjectured? As it is agreed, on all hands, that even the wretched expedients from day to day, little jobs and larcenies, as well as the more ſubſtantial plundering, called, in the cant of courtiers, buſineſs of government, were never ſo miſerably bungled through as by this ridiculous mock-majeſty. At length, however, a ſucceſſor is appointed: at length, under the protection of the whole military, he is withdrawn from the juſt reſentment of the people whom he had oppreſſed, beggared, and inſulted; at length, thus circumſtanced, he is preſented to his ſovereign, by whom he is careſſed, ſmiled upon, and preferred in ſo diſtinguiſhed a manner, that a ſtranger who had been preſent, would have been apt to imagine him returned loaded with the ſpoils of ſome ancient inveterate enemy of his country, and not with the injuries and execration of a whole nation of loyal and affectionate ſubjects.

Such has been the mode of treating the grievances of our natural brethren of Ireland and the Maſſachuſet's Bay, and a ſtill more comfortable proſpect is opened to our fellow ſubjects who are not of Britiſh extraction. The Canadians, the inhabitants of the ceded iſlands, and of Minorca; theſe people are told, that if their property is invaded, or their perſons inſulted, they are to ſeek redreſs from the King and Council. Are ſome late occurrences calculated to give them confidence in thoſe from whom they are to ſeek redreſs? Let us, without exaggeration or perverſion, ſtate the caſe of General Moſtyn and Mr. Fabrigas. General Moſtyn is accuſed by Fabrigas of violently and illegally throwing him into priſon, and afterwards baniſhing him the iſland, for no other crime than petitioning againſt a regulation which he conceived to be prejudicial and grievous. The cauſe is tried: the allegation not only proves juſt in its full extent, but aggravated with a variety of wanton, cruel circumſtances.—Fabrigas, a ſubſtantial farmer, is thrown into the dungeon appropriated to felons convicted of capital crimes; the ſentinels receive ſtrict orders not to allow the leaſt refreſhment to be conveyed to him; even the air-hole is guarded, leſt ſome of his children or friends ſhould drop a loaf of bread, or bunch of grapes.

Having lain in this miſerable dungeon for ſome days, he is at length hand-cuffed and pinioned, drawn

drawn forth, and, by the ſimple fiat of this ſmart, lively miniature of God's vicegerent on earth, John Moſtyn, Eſq. hurried on board a ſhip * prepared for the purpoſe, and interdicted from the fire and water of his native iſland, until it ſhould pleaſe the ſaid little, mighty John Moſtyn, Eſq. to ſuſpend the interdict. And it was thought a wonderful act of clemency, not only by his viſier, the moſt accurate, judicious, liberal, veracious Mr. Wright †, but by another illuſtrious member of the divan, in thus committing the bow-ſtring or hatchet into the gentle ſentence of baniſhment; for theſe worthy miniſters gave it as their opinion, openly in an Engliſh court, that ſtrangling and beheading was a part of his Highneſs's prerogative. But I ſhould beg pardon for attempting to be ludricrous upon an occaſion ſo very ſerious, not indeed becauſe a man of Mr. Moſtyn's ſtamp, a contemner, and, as far as a very little wit will enable him, a ridiculer of all public ſpirit

* He was baniſhed for a year to Carthagena. His wife, as they were carrying him on board, appeared on the beach with a matraſs, but the guard was ordered to drive her away with their bayonets; this convenience of a matraſs being thought too great an indulgence.

† His ſecretary. This gentleman was aſked in court, whether it was a part of the governor's privilege to behead or hang? and replied, ingeniouſly, he believed it was. The chief engineer, eſteemed a man of ſome ſenſe and learning, ſeemed to be of the ſame opinion.

and

and ſentiment, a deſerter of his noble friend and patron ‡, on the firſt appearance that he no longer poſſeſſed the power of ſerving him farther.

That a man of this ſtamp ſhould be intoxicated with authority, and run into violence and abſurdity, when removed from immediate checks, is not to be wondered at, nor that ſuch a governor ſhould be furniſhed with a dull mercenary ſecretary, ready to execute the mandates of his principal, be they ever ſo iniquitous and prepoſterous; but that there ſhould be found a ſingle officer of rank, of no deſpicable parts, and ſome reading, to encourage, adviſe and juſtify meaſures ſo repugnant to the ſpirit of our conſtitution and the rights of mankind, is aſtoniſhing, and in the higheſt degree alarming: for, if ſuch notions become faſhionable amongſt the military, our laws are but a parapet of paper, which the ſword is ready to cut through on the firſt hint from a dictator. The idea, I ſay, of ſuch principles becoming faſhionable in the army, muſt give the moſt ſerious alarm to every individual who does not wiſh annihilation to the preſent liberties of theſe iſlands, and enſlavement to their poſterity. But what follows, is more particularly a matter of melancholy concern to our fellow ſubjects, the coloniſts of America, the Canadians, and the people of Minorca. They are,

‡ Lord Rockingham; to whom Mr. Moſtyn owed all his great preferments: he oppoſed his patron when miniſter, becauſe he knew it would pleaſe the cabinet.

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it ſeems, if aggrieved, to ſeek redreſs from the king and council; but if they have reaſon to think that their redreſſers will become partiſans of thoſe who oppreſs them, what muſt be the ſituation of their minds? Will they not naturally deſpair, and reſign themſelves paſſively to the hand of power, or bravely attempt to redreſs themſelves? To one of theſe alternatives, a circumſtance immediately ſubſequent to Mr. Moſtyn's trial, muſt tend to reduce them. Reeking with the infamy of being convicted by an honeſt jury of his country, he dared to preſent himſelf at the levee of her firſt magiſtrate, where he, who is the head, and in fact creates and uncreates this court from which redreſs and equity are to flow, he, who ſhould conſider himſelf as the corrector of abuſes, and avenger of wrongs, could attempt to be facetious on the occaſion. Well, General, ſays the King, ſo you have been caſt; and who were the counſel employed by your doughty adverſary? The General, a veteran courtier, long accuſtomed to royal waggery, ſmartly replied, the learned ſerjeant Glynn, and the profound duke of Richmond. This was prodigiouſly witty, that the whole circle, lords of the bed-chamber, maids of honour, and privy-council, all burſt into a loud laugh *.

This may be a very excellent joke at St. James's;

* It is to be obſerved, that the Treaſury paid General Moſtyn's damages.

but

but I can aſſure Saint James's, that in other places it ſavours but of ſhallow wit, and that it only ſerves as a proof, for which there was no occaſion, of the weakneſs of the heads, and corruption of the hearts, within thoſe walls. And I can further aſſure them, that did ſuch noblemen, and ſuch lawyers, as the duke of Richmond, and ſerjeant Glynn, form the circle of the drawing room, it would be more for the honour of his Majeſty, and the ſatisfaction and ſafety of the nation, than one compoſed of the Grafton's, Sandwiches, Nortons, and Wedderburnes.

A SHORT

A SHORT HISTORY

OF THE TREATMENT OF MAJOR GENERAL CONWAY, LATE IN THE SERVICE OF AMERICA.

Philadelphia, December 3, 1778.

ON Monday the 23d of November laſt, the honourable Major General Conway ſet out from this city, on his return to France. The hiſtory of the treatment this gentleman has received, is ſo ſingular that it muſt make a figure in the anecdotes of mankind. He was born in Ireland, but at the age of ſix was carried into France; was bred up from his infancy to the profeſſion of arms; and, it is univerſally allowed, by the gentlemen of that nation, that he has, in their ſervice, the reputation of being what is ſtiled *un tres brave major d'infanterie*, which is no ſmall character. It implies, if I comprehend the term right, a man poſſeſſed of all the requiſite qualities to fill the duties of a general officer in the ſecondary line, but by no means ranks him among thoſe favoured mortals to whom it has pleaſed God to give ſo large a portion of the ethereal ſpirit, as to render reading, theory and practice unneceſſary; but with the ſpectacle of this phænomena Heaven entertains the Earth but very ſeldom; Greece, as hiſtorians report,

port, had but one *; Rome none; England and France, only one each. As to this hemiſphere, I ſhall be ſilent on the ſubject, leſt I ſhould be ſuſpected of not being ſerious. But be this as it may, it is paſt doubt that General Conway is a man of excellent underſtanding, quick and penetrating, that he has ſeen much ſervice, has read a great deal, and digeſted well what he has read. It is not leſs certain, that he embarked, with the warmeſt zeal, for the great American Cauſe, and it has never been inſinuated, unleſs by thoſe who have the talent of confounding cauſes, that his zeal has diminiſhed. His recompence has been, What? He has loſt his commiſſion; he has been refuſed the common certificate, which every officer receives at the expiration of his ſervices, unleſs his delinquencies have been very ſubſtantial indeed. And for what crime? For none, by any law, or the moſt ſtrained conſtruction that can be put on any law. The reaſons given are ſo far from being

* Alexander; Henry the Fifth; and the Prince of Conde. It may be diſputed, however, whether theſe heroes were indebted to the gift of Heaven alone for their glories. Alexander ſerved ſome campaigns under his father Philip, had Ariſtotle for his maſter. Henry, before he became king, diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the civil wars againſt the houſe of Northumberland, and, if I recollect right, commanded in ſome expedition againſt the Welſh; and the Prince of Conde had leſſons from the great maſters formed in the ſchools of the wars in the Low Country.

ſubſtan-

ſubſtantial, that they really ought to reflect honour on his character. It ſeems he has been accuſed of writing a letter, to a confidential friend, communicating an opinion, that the commander in chief was not equal to the great taſk he was charged with. Is this a crime? The contrary. If it was really his opinion, it was decent, it was honeſt, it was laudable, it was his duty. Does it come under any article of war? I may venture to affirm, that it does not. God help the community that ſhould be abſurd enough to frame a law which could be conſtrued into ſuch a ſenſe; ſuch a community could not long ſubſiſt. It ever has been, and ever ought to be, the cuſtom in all armies, not abſolutely barbarians, for the officers of high rank minutely to canvaſs the meaſures of their commander in chief; and if his faults or miſtakes appear to them many and great, to communicate their ſentiments to each other; it can be attended with no one bad conſequence; for if the criticiſms are unjuſt and impertinent, they only recoil on the authors; and the great man who is the ſubject of them, ſhines with redoubled luſtre. But if they are all well founded, they tend to open the eyes of the Prince or State, who, from blind prejudice, or ſome ſtrange infatuation, may have repoſed their affairs in hands ruinouſly incapable. Does any man of ſenſe, who is the leaſt acquainted with hiſtory, imagine that the greateſt generals the

world

world ever produced have eſcaped cenſure? Hannibal, Cæſar, Turene, Marlborough, have all been cenſured; and the only method they thought juſtifiable of ſtopping the mouths of their cenſors, was by a freſh exertion of their talents, and a perpetual ſeries of victories. *Laiſſons parler ces bableurs l'eſpere, que nous leur fermerons la bouche a force des victoires*, was the anſwer of the king of Pruſſia to thoſe worthy Gentlemen, who thought to recommend themſelves by informing him, that ſome of his meaſures were made very free with by certain officers in his army. Indeed, it is obſervable, that in proportion to the capacity or incapacity of the commander in chief, he countenances, or diſcountenances the whole tribe of talebearers, informers, and pickthanks, who ever have been, and ever will be, the bane of thoſe courts and armies where they are encouraged, or even ſuffered. Allowing General Waſhington to be poſſeſſed of all the virtues and military talents of Epaminondas, and this is certainly allowing a great deal, for whether from our modern education, or perhaps the modern ſtate of human affairs, it is difficult to conceive that any mortal in theſe ages ſhould arrive at ſuch perfection; but allowing it to be ſo, he would ſtill remain mortal, and of courſe ſubject to the infirmities of human nature: ſickneſs or other caſualties might impair his underſtanding, his memory, or his courage; and, in conſequence of the failure, he might adopt meaſures apparently

apparently weak, ridiculous, and pernicious. Now, I demand, ſuppoſing this certainly poſſible caſe, whether a law, the letter or ſpirit of which ſhould abſolutely ſeal up the lips and reſtrain the pens, of every witneſs of the defection, would not, in fact, be denouncing vengeance againſt thoſe who alone have the means in their power of ſaving the public from the ruin impending, if they ſhould dare to make uſe of theſe means for its ſalvation. If there were ſuch a law, its abſurdity would be ſo monſtrouſly glaring, that we may hardly ſay, it would be more honoured in the breach than in the obſervance. In the Engliſh and French armies, the freedom with which the conduct and meaſures of commanders in chief are canvaſſed is notorious, nor does it appear that this freedom is attended with any bad conſequences; it has never been once able to remove a *real* great officer from his command. Every action of the Duke of Marlborough (every body who has read muſt know) was not only minutely criticiſed, but his whole conduct was diſſected, in order to diſcover ſome crime, blunder, fault, or even trifling error; but all theſe impertinent pains and wicked induſtry, were employed in vain; it was a court intrigue alone that ſubverted him; the low military cabals paſſed as the idle wind.

General Wolfe, with whom to be compared, it can be no degradation to any mortal living, was not merely criticiſed, but groſsly calumniated by

ſome officers of high rank under him; but that great man never thought of having recourſe to the letter or conſtruction of any law, in order to avenge himſelf; he was contented with informing his calumniators, that he was not ignorant of their practices, and that the only method he ſhould take for their puniſhment, would be an active perſeverance in the performance of his duty, which, with the aſſiſtance of God, he made no doubt would place him beyond the reach of their malice. As to what liberties they had taken with him perſonally, he ſhould wait till he was reduced to the rank of a private gentleman, and then ſpeak to them in that capacity.

Upon the whole, it appears, that it never was underſtood to be the meaning of the Engliſh article of war, which enjoins reſpect towards the commander in chief; and of courſe it ought not to be underſtood, that the meaning of that article of the American code (which is a ſervile copy from the Engliſh) is meant to proſcribe the communication of our ſentiments to one another, on the capacity or incapacity of the man on whom the ſafety or ruin of the ſtate depends; its intention was without doubt in part complimentary, and partly to lay ſome decent reſtrictions on the licence of converſation and writing, which otherwiſe might create a diffidence in the minds of the common ſoldiery, detrimental to the public ſervice. But that it was meant to impoſe a dead, torpid, idolatrous, ſilence,

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in all caſes whatever, on men, who, from their rank, muſt be ſuppoſed to have eyes and underſtanding, nothing under the degree of an idiot can perſuade himſelf: but admitting, in oppoſition to common ſenſe and all precedents, the proceeding to be criminal; admitting Mr. Conway guilty of it, to the extent repreſented, which he can demonſtrate to be falſe; in the name of God, why inflict the higheſt, at leaſt negative puniſhment, on a man untried and unheard. The refuſal of a certificate, of having honeſtly ſerved, is conſidered as the greateſt of negative puniſhments; indeed in the military idea, it is a poſitive one.

And I ſincerely hope, and do firmly believe, (ſuch is my opinion of the juſtice of Congreſs,) that when they have coolly reflected on the merits and fortunes of this gentleman, they will do him that juſtice, which nothing but the haſty miſconſtruction of a law haſtily copied from another law, never defined nor underſtood, has hitherto prevented.

PROPOSALS FOR THE FORMATION

OF A

BODY OF LIGHT TROOPS,

READY TO BE DETACHED

ON AN EMERGENT OCCASION.

COUNT Polaſki is certainly a good ſoldier, or he is not; for my own part, I believe him a very good one. In the firſt place he is a Polander, whoſe genius is adapted to the light or expedite war. In the ſecond place, he has had much practice in the beſt ſchools, and is undoubtedly brave and enterpriſing. If he is not a good ſoldier, as his corps is expenſive, he ought not to be detained; therefore, it is expedient, either to ſend him about his buſineſs entirely, or to make the proper uſe of him; but on the ſuppoſition that he knows his trade, I would propoſe the following ſcheme—That his legion ſhould be immediately completed to twelve hundred men, four hundred cavalry, and eight hundred light infantry—for theſe eight hundred infantry, that a draft ſhould be made,

made, without loſs of time, from every regiment of the continent, entirely of natives; not ſo young as to be unable to reſiſt the fatigues of this ſort of ſervice, but of the proper age for violent exerciſe and forced marches. Major Lee, who ſeems to have come out of his mother's womb a ſoldier, ſhould be incorporated in this legion, with the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel, and to command ſpecifically the whole cavalry. If Major Lee's corps (for I know not their ſtrength) will not, added to the cavalry Polaſki already has, compleat them to four hundred, let there be a draft made from the other regiment of cavalry. Moilands, Blands, and Sheldons, all of natives, and the very youngeſt men; becauſe on Polaſki's principle of exerciſe (which I verily believe to be the beſt in the world) none but very young men are capable of being trained to the manœuvres; but as it is not certain that either Count Polaſki, or Major Lee underſtand the detail of cavalry, on which ſo much depends; let ſome Quarter-maſters or Serjeants, who have ſerved in the Britiſh cavalry, (and there are many on the continent,) be found out, encouraged with rank and emolnment, and employed. A corps thus compoſed, with brave and underſtanding officers at their head, ſuch as are Polaſki and Lee, with a few ſubordinate officers, knowing, in the detail, will render more effectual ſervice than any ten regiments on the continent. It would likewiſe put a ſtop, for the future, to that odious, perni-

cious practice of picking the beſt men from every battalion, on what are called extraordinary occaſions; which practice has abſolutely no other effect than diſguſting the greater part of the officers of the army, and rendering the whole diſpirited and unfit for action. I could quote a ſtrong inſtance of the bad conſequences of this cuſtom. Some days before the affair of Monmouth, General Scott was detached with a corps of picked men and officers, to the no ſmall diſguſt of thoſe who were left behind, who could not help conſidering it as a ſort of ſtigma on their characters. After this, the Marquis de la Fayette was detached with another corps of one thouſand, picked out in the ſame manner. This body, now conſiſting of twenty-five hundred men, inſtead of falling on the enemies' flanks, did, from ſome fatality, abſolutely nothing at all. I was afterwards ordered to march to ſuſtain them, with three ſcanty brigades, compoſed entirely of the refuſe; and of this refuſe I was under the neceſſity of forming my van-guard on the day of the action of Monmouth; for the picked corps, by the blunders committed, were ſo fatigued that they could ſcarcely move their legs.

SOME

Phiadelphia, July 6th, 1779.

SOME QUERIES,

POLITICAL AND MILITARY,

Humbly offered to the Conſideration of the *Public*.

1ſt. WHETHER George the Firſt did not, on his acceſſion to the throne of Great Britain, by making himſelf king of a party, inſtead of the whole nation, ſow the ſeeds not only of the ſubverſion of the liberties of the people, but of the ruin of the whole empire?

2d. Whether, by proſcribing that claſs of men, to which his miniſtry were pleaſed to give the appellation of Tories, he did not, in the end, make them not only real tories, but even Jacobites?

3d. Whether the conſequence of this diſtinction, now become real, was not two rebellions; and whether the fruit of thoſe rebellions, although defeated, were not ſeptennial parliaments, a large ſtanding army, an enormous additional weight and pecuniary influence thrown into the ſcale of the crown, which in a few years have borne down,

not only the ſubſtance, but almoſt the form of liberty, all ſenſe of patriotiſm, the morals of the people, and, in the end, overturned the mighty fabric of the Britiſh empire?

4th. Whether the preſent men in power, in this ſtate, do not tread exactly in the ſteps of this pernicious miniſtry, by proſcribing and disfranchiſing ſo large a proportion of citizens as thoſe men whom they find it their intereſt to brand with the denomination of Tories?

5th. Whether liberty, to be durable, ſhould not be conſtructed on as broad a baſis as poſſible; and whether the ſame cauſes, in all ages, and in all countries, do not produce the ſame effects?

6th. Whether it is not natural and even juſtifiable, for that claſs of people (let the pretext be ever ſo plauſible) who have been ſtripped of their rights as men, by the hard hand of power, to wiſh for, and endeavour to bring about, by any means, whatever a revolution in that ſtate, which they cannot but conſider, as an uſurpation and tyranny?

7th. Whether a ſubject of Morocco is not, when we conſider human nature, a happier mortal, than a disfranchiſed citizen of Pennſylvania, as the former has the comfort of ſeeing all about him in the ſame predicament with himſelf; the latter, the miſery of being a ſlave in the ſpecious boſom of liberty? The former drinks the cup, but the latter alone can taſte the bitterneſs of it.

8th. Whether an enlightened member of a French par-

parliament is not a thouſand times more wretched than a Ruſſian cirf or peaſant? As to the former, the chains, from his ſenſibility, muſt be extremely galling; and on the latter, they ſit as eaſy as the ſkin of his back.

9th. Whether it is ſalutary or dangerous, conſiſtent with, or abhorrent from, the principles and ſpirit of liberty and republicaniſm, to inculcate and encourage in the people, an idea, that their welfare, ſafety, and glory, depend on one man? Whether they really do depend on one man?

10th. Whether, amongſt the late warm, or rather loyal addreſſers, in this city, to his Excellency General Waſhington, there was a ſingle mortal, one gentleman excepted, who could poſſibly be acquainted with his merits?

11th. Whether this gentleman excepted, does really think his Excellency a great man; or whether evidences could not be produced of his ſentiments being quite the reverſe?

12th. Whether the armies under Gates and Arnold, and the detachment under Starke, to the Northward, or that immediately under his Excellency, in Pennſylvania, gave the deciſive turn to the fortune of war?

13th. Whether, therefore, when Monſieur Gérard and Don Juan de Miralles, ſent over to their reſpective courts the pictures of his Excellency General Waſhington at full length, by Mr. Peal, there would have been any impropriety in ſending over, at the ſame time, at leaſt a couple of little heads

heads of Gates and Arnold by M. de Simitiere.

14th. On what principle was it that Congreſs in the year 1776, ſent for General Lee quite from Georgia, with injunctions to join the army under General Waſhington, then in York-Iſland, without loſs of time.

15th. Whether Congreſs had reaſon to be ſatisfied or diſſatisfied with this their recal of General Lee, from what ſubſequently happened on York-Iſland, and at the White-Plains?

16th. Whether Fort Waſhington was or was not tenable? Whether there were barracks, caſemates, fuel, or water, within the body of the place? Whether in the outworks, the defences were in any decent order? And whether there were even platforms for the guns?

17th. Whether, if it had been tenable it could have anſwered any one ſingle purpoſe? Did it cover, did it protect a valuable country? Did it prevent the enemy's ſhips from paſſing or repaſſing with impunity?

18th. Whether, when General Howe manifeſtly gave over all thoughts of attacking General Waſhington, in the laſt ſtrong poſition in the rear of White-Plains, and fell back towards York-Iſland, orders ſhould not have been immediately diſpatched for the evacuation of Fort Waſhington, and for the removal of all the ſtores of value from Fort Lee to ſome ſecure ſpot, more removed from the river? Whether this was not propoſed and the propoſal ſlighted?

19th.

19th. Whether the loſs of the garriſon of Fort Waſhington, and its conſequent loſs of Fort Lee, with the tents, ſtores, &c. had not ſuch an effect on the ſpirits of the people, as to make the difference of twenty thouſand men to America?

20th. Whether, in the defeat of Brandewine, General Sullivan was really the perſon who ought to have been cenſured?

21ſt. Whether, if Duke Ferdinand * had commanded at German Town, after having gained, by the valour of his troops, and the negligence of his enemy, a partial victory, he would have contrived, by a ſingle ſtroke of the Bathos, to have corrupted this partial victory into a defeat?

22d. Whether our poſition at Valley Forge was not ſuch, that if General Howe, or afterwards General Clinton, had been well informed of its circumſtances, defects, and vices, they might not at the head of ten, or even of eight thouſand men, have reduced the American army to the ſame fatal neceſſity as the Americans did General Burgoyne?

23d. Whether the trials of General St. Clair,

* In one of the numerous publications which have lately infeſted Philadelphia, it was brought as a crime againſt Mr. Deane, that he had, directly or indirectly, made ſome overtures to Prince Ferdinand of Brunſwick, to accept the command of the American army, who muſt of courſe have ſuperceded General Waſhington. This crime appeared to all the foreign officers who are acquainted with the prince's reputation as a ſoldier, in ſo very ridiculous a light, that they never think or ſpeak of it without being thrown into violent fits of laughter.

of

of which Court-Martial General Lincoln was preſident, and that on General Lee, were conducted in the ſame forms, and on the ſame principles? Whether in the former, all hearſay evidences were not abſolutely rejected; and in the latter hearſay evidence did not conſtitute a very conſiderable part?

24th. Whether, if the Generals Schuyler and St. Clair, had been tried by the ſame Court-Martial as General Lee was, and, inſtead of Congreſs, General Waſhington had been the proſecutor, thoſe gentlemen (unexceptionable as their conduct was) would not have ſtood a very ugly chance of being condemned? And whether, if inſtead of General Waſhington, Congreſs had been the proſecutor, General Lee would not probably have been acquitted with the higheſt honour?

25th. Whether it muſt not appear to every man who has read General Waſhington's letter to Congreſs, on the affair at Monmouth, and the proceedings of the Court-Martial, by which General Lee was tried, that if the contents of the former are facts, not only General Lee's defence muſt be a tiſſue of the moſt abominable audacious lies, but that the whole ſtring of evidences, both on the part of the proſecution and proſecuted, muſt be guilty of rank perjury, as the teſtimonies of thoſe gentlemen, near forty in number, delivered on oath, ſcarcely in one article coincide with the detail given in his Excellency's letter?

COPY

COPY

OF

GENERAL LEE'S WILL.

I MAJOR GENERAL CHARLES LEE of the county of Berkeley, in the commonwealth of Virginia, being in perfect health, and of a ſound mind, conſidering the certainty of death, and the uncertainty of the time it may happen, have determined to make this my laſt will and teſtament, in manner following: that is to ſay, I give and bequeath to Alexander White, Eſq. one hundred guineas, in conſideration of the zeal and integrity he has diſplayed in the adminiſtration of my affairs, alſo the choice of any two of my colts or fillies under four years of age.

Item, I give and bequeath to Charles Minn Thruſton, Eſq. fifty guineas, in conſideration of his good qualities and the friendſhip he has manifeſted

nifeſted for me; and to Buckner Thruſton, his ſon, I leave all my books, as I know he will make a good uſe of them.

To my good friend John Mercer, Eſq. of Marlborough in Virginia, I give and bequeath the choice of two brood mares, of all my ſwords and piſtols, and ten guineas to buy a ring: I would give him more, but as he has a good eſtate and a better genius, he has ſufficient, if he knows how to make a good uſe of them.

I give and bequeath to my former aid de camp, Otway Bird, Eſq. the choice of another brood mare, and ten guineas for the ſame purpoſe of a remembrance-ring.

I give and bequeath to my worthy friend Colonel William Grayſon, of Dumfries, the ſecond choice of two colts: and to my excellent friend William Steptoe, of Virginia, I would leave a great deal, but as he is now ſo rich, it would be no leſs than robbing my other friends who are poor. I therefore entreat, he will only accept of five guineas, which I bequeath to him to purchaſe a ring of affection.

I bequeath to my old and faithful ſervant, or rather humble friend, Guiſippi Minghini, three hundred guineas, with all my horſes, mares, and colts of every kind, thoſe abovementioned excepted; likewiſe all my wearing apparel and plate, my waggons and tools of agriculture, and his choice of four milch cows.

I bequeath to Elizabeth Dunn, my houſekeeper, one hundred guineas and my whole ſtock of cattle, the four milch cows abovementioned only excepted.

I had almoſt forgot my dear friends, (and I ought to be aſhamed of it,) Mrs. Shippen, her ſon Thomas Shippen, and Thomas Lee, Eſq. of Belle-View. I beg they will accept ten guineas each, to buy rings of affection.

My landed eſtate in Berkeley, I deſire may be divided into three equal parts, according to quality and quantity; one-third part I deviſe to my dear friend Jacob Morris, of Philadelphia; one other third part to Evan Edwards, both my former aid de camps, and to their heirs and aſſigns; the other third part I deviſe to Eleazer Oſwald, at preſent of Philadelphia, and William Goddard, of Baltimore, to whom I am under obligations, and to their heirs and aſſigns, to be equally divided between them; but theſe deviſees are not to enter until they have paid off the ſeveral legacies abovementioned, with intereſt from the time of my death, and all taxes which may be due on my eſtate. In caſe I ſhould ſell my ſaid landed eſtate, I bequeath the price thereof, after paying the aforeſaid legacies, to the ſaid Jacob Morris, Evan Edwards, Eleazer Oſwald, and William Goddard, in the proportions abovementioned.

All my ſlaves, which I may be poſſeſſed of at the time

time of my deceaſe, I bequeath to Guiſippi Minghini and Elizabeth Dunn, to be equally divided between them.

All my other property of every kind, and in every part of the world, after my deceaſe, funeral charges, and neceſſary expences of adminiſtration are paid, I give, deviſe, and bequeath to my ſiſter Sidney Lee, her heirs and aſſigns for ever.

I deſire moſt earneſtly, that I may not be buried in any church, or church-yard, or within a mile of any Preſbyterian or Anabaptiſt meeting-houſe; for ſince I have reſided in this country, I have kept ſo much bad company when living, that I do not chuſe to continue it when dead.

I recommend my ſoul to the Creator of all worlds and of all creatures; who muſt, from his viſible attributes, be indifferent to their modes of worſhip or creeds, whether Chriſtians, Mahometans, or Jews; whether inſtilled by education, or taken up by reflection; whether more or leſs abſurd; as a weak mortal can no more be anſwerable for his perſuaſions, notions, or even ſcepticiſm in religion, than for the colour of his ſkin.

And I do appoint the above-named Alexander White and Charles Minn Thruſton, executors of this my laſt will and teſtament, and do revoke all other wills by me heretofore made. In witneſs whereof

whereof I have hereunto ſet my hand and ſeal. this day of in the year of our Lord, one thouſand ſeven hnndred and eighty two.

CHARLES LEE. SEAL.

Signed, ſealed, publiſhed, and declared by the ſaid Major General Charles Lee, as, and for, his laſt will and teſtament. In preſence of

JAMES SMITH,
SAMUEL SWEARINGEN,
WILLIAM GARRARD.

At a court held for Berkeley county the 15th day of April, 1783, this laſt will and teſtament of Charles Lee, deceaſed, was preſented in court by Alexander White, one of the executors therein named, who made oath thereto according to law, and the ſame being proved to be executed on the 10th day of September, 1782, by the oaths of James Smith and Samuel Swearingen, two of the witneſſes thereto, and ordered to be recorded; and on the motion of the ſaid executor who entered

tered into bond with Adam Stephen, Eſq. his ſecurity, in the penalty of twenty thouſand pounds, conditioned for his true and faithful adminiſtration of the ſaid eſtate. Certificate is granted him for obtaining a probate thereof in due form of law.

A COPY.

WILLIAM DREW.

LETTERS

LETTERS

TO AND FROM

MAJOR GENERAL LEE.

LETTERS

TO

GENERAL LEE,

From ſeveral eminent Characters both in EUROPE and AMERICA.

My dear Lee, London, Nov. 26th, 1759.

YOUR American poſts are exceſſive hard upon me, and *mal reglée's*. You and Montgomery are ſo good as to write to me often from thence. I have been, upon honour, very exact in my anſwers, without having been lucky enough that either of you ſhould have heard from me. This time I hope to be more fortunate, having recommended my letter to the beſt hand. I envy you all the ſervice you have ſeen whilſt have been in the moſt ſluggiſh inactivity. I have indeed got a ſon, but *cela ne conte gueres*. Our good

fortune, and that of our friends, has been indefatigable this year. To-day, we have the news of the ſurrender of Munſter, and the French in Germany retiring, probably into winter quarters. Daun is doing the ſame, and is likely to leave the amazing King of Pruſſia once more in poſſeſſion of Saxony. The Ruſſians, we flatter ourſelves, will move no more. The Breſt fleet is out; Hawke after them, and a good account of them hoped for, and expected every moment. Next year I hope to have ſomething to do in Germany, where they talk of ſending us. I believe you already know my trade—Lieutenant Colonel to George Elliott's Light Dragoons. Being as horſe-mad as ever, and having the rank of Colonel before, by being the King's aid de camp, I preferred *that* to a young regiment of foot. So many children have of late been made Generals, that we Children-colonels are already very high in the liſt. The riding of this new corps has kept me fully employed this whole ſummer, and I am now come up to town for winter quarters, which the ſeaſon makes much more pleaſant than the country ones. We are all here in grief for the loſs of poor Wolfe. Nobody of that age can be more publicly and privately admired and regretted. The war in America, we are in hopes, will be over very ſoon; if ſo, I ſhall hope then to have the pleaſure of ſeeing you. The French's fighting-days ſeem to be over, or, at leaſt, ſuſ-

pended. Every day produces a change amongſt them, of generals, admirals, and miniſtry; and every thing ſpeaks them to be in the greateſt poverty and diſunion. It don't often happen here, or any where elſe, I believe; but there is certainly at preſent amongſt all here the greateſt ſpirits and unanimity imaginable, and no appearances of want; much debauch, and good living; ſo pray come amongſt us ſoon. You have the good fortune not only to have ſeen ſervice enough, but moſt of it ſucceſsful. All your friends are well. Adieu, my dear Lee! let me hear from you when you can, and be aſſured that no one can intereſt themſelves more ſincerely about you than,

Your moſt affectionate Friend, and
Humble Servant,
PEMBROKE.

TO
Capt. Charles Lee,
In the 44th Reg. Albany.

DEAR CHARLES, London, Nov. 28th, 1759.

YOU have obliged me very much by a ſecond letter come lately to my hands, and dated at Niagara: We had before received accounts of the reduction of it, and your being in poſſeſſion of

the glorious country around; which, by your deſcription, muſt be a paradiſe indeed; and it is much to be wiſhed, it may never again go out of your hands. Our acquiſitions this year have been ſo great and important, that it has been thought proper to appoint to-morrow a public thankſgiving-day: and though Amherſt has not got ſo forward as was expected, yet he ſends word he is maſter of Lake Champlain; which, as we are poſſeſſed of the other ſide of Quebec, muſt bound the enemy between the two in ſuch a manner, as, we conclude here, will diſtreſs them extremely, if not oblige them to make ſubmiſſion, and ſurrender. In Europe, you will have heard Boſcawen fell in with the Toulon fleet, and took four of them; and we are now in hourly expectation of Hawke's overtaking the Breſt fleet, which ſtole out of the harbour the other day, in order, as it is ſuppoſed, to cover a deſcent, either upon Ireland or this country, which they have long threatened us with; but it muſt be a very deſperate game they are playing, ſince, if our ſhips have the luck to come up with them, we have little fear here of their giving them ſuch a blow as will put an end to the naval force of France for ſome time to come.—But I will talk no more of public affairs; it will probably be of greater ſatisfaction to you, to hear of the welfare of your friends and relations, which I am happily enabled at preſent to aſſure you of; for I know not of any exception amongſt them

them all. My ſon is gone to Turin, and I hope we may preſume upon his health, though we have not lately heard from him: he is to ſtay here five or ſix months, and afterwards to ramble about Italy another twelve-month. Your ſiſter Sidney complains you do not write ſo often as ſhe wiſhes. I gave her the ſatisfaction of knowing you had favoured me lately with a letter, and that you were well and happy, as I am willing to ſuppoſe by the ſtrain of your ſtyle, which is very lively and entertaining. The books and chocolate you deſired, have been ſent to Mr. Calcroft near a month ago, who has taken the charge of them; and I hope they will get ſafe to your hand: But ſure you are not to ſtay on that continent for ever: We wiſh you to come again amongſt your friends, and probably ſome change might be procured, as well as advance, on this ſide of the water, if you deſired it. Lord Granby commands in Germany at preſent, and is likely to be at the head of the army on this ſide of the water too, if Ligonier drops; and it is ſuppoſed he cannot laſt a great while longer. The taking of Munſter, which we had advice of the other day, will be of great importance to our allied army, and ſecure them good winter quarters. A great many matches are talked of here in town, ſo that if you do not come ſoon, all our fine young ladies will be diſpoſed of; but I know of none of your more particular acquaintance that have, or are about, changing their

ſtate.

ſtate. Pray go on writing to us; nobody better qualified to entertain by their letters: I wiſh I had as good a knack on my ſide, for the ſake of your amuſement. Your aunt and couſins beg to live conſtantly in your memory and good wiſhes; they deſire I will aſſure you, you have theirs moſt heartily; and I hope I need not add, that you will invariably have thoſe of your affectionate and obliged uncle,

WILLIAM BUNBURY.

Capt. Charles Lee.

My dear Colonel, Warſaw, April 29th, 1767.

I ADMIRE, very much, the ſubtilty of your reaſoning, and the arguments you run after, to prove me in fault for the ſilence you have long obſerved, which, I confeſs, has furniſhed me often with ſubject for reflections. The receipt of your letter has given me ſo much pleaſure, that I ought in gratitude to forget every uneaſy thought that I have permitted to torment me whilſt I was in expectation of it; and therefore ſhall proceed immediately to thank you for the intelligence it brings me, and the aſſurances it renews of your affection and friendſhip.

I ſhould have been heartily glad to have heard,

my

my dear Colonel, that His Majeſty's recommendation had been more ſucceſsful in procuring you an eſtabliſhment equal to your merit and wiſhes; but am not at all ſurpriſed that you find the door ſhut againſt you by the perſon who has ſuch unbounded credit; as you have ever *too freely* indulged a liberty of declaiming, which many infamous and invidious people have not failed to inform him of. The principle on which you thus openly ſpeak your mind, is honeſt and patriotic, but not politic; and as it will not ſucceed in changing men or times, common prudence ſhould teach us to hold our tongues, rather than to riſque our own fortunes without any proſpect of advantage to ourſelves or neighbours. Excuſe this ſcrap of advice, my dear Colonel, and place it to the vent of a heart entirely devoted to your intereſt.

I remember my promiſe, to inform you of the tranſactions of this place; and had I received a line from you upon the road, ſhould have endeavoured to find time during the diet to have given you a ſketch of the critical and unexpected affairs that agitated us; it will be needleſs now, as the public papers and your other correſpondents here have, doubtleſs, not failed to inſtruct you. The important affair of the diſſidents was rudely and inſolently refuſed; and you cannot be ignorant that thoſe gentlemen have formed two confederations in Poland and in Lithuania, ſupported by a Ruſſian army

army of thirty or forty thouſand men, and that we expect a diet extraordinary in the months of Auguſt or September, for terminating their demands, to the ſatisfaction of the powers who intereſt themſelves in their behalf: and though it is impoſſible to ſay how it will end, yet the appearances at preſent are much in their favour, and we have all reaſon to think, that it will be conducted without any interruption of the tranquillity of the republic.

You muſt not imagine, that however important this negociation is, that our great men cannot find time for other amuſements and engagements. The object that engroſſes our attention at this moment, is love, and the family of Clavereau, (you remember the French actor and his two daughters:) Prince Gaſpar Lubomirſki marries the youngeſt daughter to day, and the eldeſt ran away, and married a muſician, two days ago, having received from R—— a conſiderable ſum, as a recompence for ſo infamous a part, and as ſerving only for a cloak to his views of getting her out of her father's houſe. The father has acted, on this occaſion, like a prince, and the ambaſſador like a comedian; the latter laughs, and is content with his dexterity, and his flatterers tell him, he is an *habile negotiateur*: but every prudent and impartial man muſt condemn a perſon of his rank and character—father of many children, and paſt the heat of youth—

youth—for having committed ſuch an extravagance.

The *chart du pais* remains pretty much the ſame as when you left us; the ſame friendſhips and the ſame quarrels. You have been the inſtrument of making Lind's fortune; M—— has given him the abſolute direction and education of Monſ. Chambellan's ſon, with a penſion for life, and he is to travel with him in a couple of years; and I cannot but congratulate both parties, for Lind has great merit as a ſcholar, and a man of principles and worth.

I am much obliged to you, my dear Colonel, for your offers of ſervice, and am convinced, that you would ſeize any opportunity of being uſeful to me; I don't know in what manner you can do me a greater, than in the conſervation of your ſentiments for me. Take care of your health, and huſband well your fortune, which is ſufficient to make you happy; and, in your happineſs, I ſhall always find a ſincere ſatisfaction. Adieu, my dear Colonel! I am, and ſhall be, to the end of my life,

Your affectionate Friend and Servant,

THOMAS WROUGHTON.

Col. Lee.

My dear Lee, Iſland St. John, Nov. 10th, 1772.

OF all men on earth, you are the laſt from whom I expected to hear, unleſs it was in a paragraph of a foreign Gazette, that ſuch a day Monſ. General Lee, *un Anglois*, was cut to pieces, defending his Poliſh Majeſty, or in ſome deſperate uncommon attack; or, which was full as likely, that you was hanged for treaſon, in ſome of the damned arbitrary governments you have been wandering through. But, how ſurpriſed! when, in the place of this, I received a flattering letter from you, dated Dijon. Surely, Lee, the climate of France has produced this wonderful effect. I am ſure in Old England you would never flatter any man, much leſs one whom you honoured with your friendſhip. Do you not know how apt we all are to forget ourſelves when in power, or upon any ſudden elevation; and how very ready we are to believe all the handſome things that even the moſt abject ſycophants are pleaſed to beſpatter us with? Then, my friend, how much more dangerous muſt it be from a man, of whoſe underſtanding I have always had the higheſt opinion? And who is ſo remarkable for his candor and freedom of ſpeech, that they are, to the diſgrace of our day, well known to be his greateſt enemies. In ſpite of what I ſay, I will acknowledge I am proud of your good opinion, though delivered in too flattering a ſtyle; but I hope

it

it will have no other effect than to make me endeavour to deſerve it.

Taking it for granted, that you will like to know how I bear my promotion, I will give you as impartial an account of it, in as few words as it is poſſible for a man to give of himſelf. I feel myſelf independent, and a ſlave to ſlaves, obliged to court and flatter men whom I deſpiſe, both for their want of abilities and want of honeſty. I hate power, and thoſe in it, more and more every day. I am plainer in my table and apparel than you ever knew me, without an attempt or wiſh to be rich. I have children and I feel they may one day be under another governor, on the ſpot where their father once preſided. This helps to make me careful, and as tender as poſſible of thoſe entruſted to my care. My actions are as public as they can poſſibly be made; and I hope my children and friends will never have reaſon to bluſh, or be aſhamed to hear of them. I find the care of a people a more difficult thing than I imagined it to be, and I find myſelf very defective as a legiſlator: the former, perhaps time may render more eaſy, and I am endeavouring to remedy the latter, by as cloſe an application, to ſtudy the ſpirit of the laws of my country, as is in my power; in the mean time, I am cautious of doing much, leſt I may do more evil than good. This, if I know any thing of myſelf, is truth. How you will like the daubed portrait,

trait, I know not, nor whether or not, I may not forfeit a part of your good opinion, by the badneſs of the attempt.

Having ſaid ſo much of myſelf, I now come to your buſineſs; and, in the firſt place, I promiſe you, if it be in my power to do any for you, I will, and with more pleaſure than you can aſk me. In the mean time, I can anſwer you ſome of your queries to a greater certainty, by being here, than if I had received your letter in Suffolk Street, where you directed it to me. You deſire to know if it is worth your while to lay out any money on your lands in this iſland; I anſwer, yes. You have half of the very beſt lot on this iſland, or at leaſt as good as any, and were I in your circumſtances, I *would* be proprietor of the whole of it; in that manner I would lay out the firſt money. There are a good many French who live upon it already; but for want of title to the land, they do not improve it as they might: theſe would commence a ſmall rent immediately, for which reaſon you ought to appoint an agent; and if you do not like to purchaſe the other half, you ought to come to ſome agreement with Sir Francis M'Leane, either to have a diviſion made of it, or to bear a ſhare of the expences; but I would by all means recommend the former, that is to ſay, to purchaſe the whole, or to have it divided.

The kind of man, I would recommend to you as an agent, would be an Engliſh farmer, an active fellow,

fellow, with a genius a little above the common run of them; one that would not be ſo much guided by old cuſtoms, as to attempt ploughing here in February, becauſe he was uſed to do ſo at home: in ſhort, a man who can think a little and accommodate both himſelf and his labour to the climate. As you have a plentiful fortune, no matter whether or not he has, perhaps better not. To ſuch a man you might give at an eaſy rent, as much land as he thought would make him a compleat farm. He ought to bring ſome ſervants with him, who ought to be bound for three or four years, he paying them yearly wages, ſomething more than they get in England. He ought to bring likewiſe all the iron parts of every kind of farming utenſils, and all the neceſſary iron work for building himſelf a houſe; and, beſide that, either money, or a credit to purchaſe cattle and a year's proviſions.

If you had ſuch a man well ſettled; and it ſhould be done in ſuch a manner, that he might feel as few inconveniencies as poſſible; he would ſoon bring you more; for you may depend upon it, the ſoil and climate both would pleaſe him. He ought to have a power of attorney to let your lands, and indeed as extenſive a one as you, from your knowledge of the man, would think prudent to entruſt him with.

But after all, dear Lee, what is there to hinder you from taking a view of the place yourſelf, nay,

of being your own agent. Do not you think the cultivating your lands, and improving your conſtitution and fortune, is a much more rational, and perhaps, I might ſay, ſenſible employment, than ſcampering over all the continent of Europe, in ſearch of damned Hungarian fevers. Come, Lee, and leave Hume to cram his hiſtory down the throats of his countrymen, for few others read it. You will find your gall bladder decreaſe in ſize very much, without writing ſtrictures upon any thing; or even abuſing a king or a Barrington, as ſoon as you ſet foot upon this our free and hoſpitable coaſt: and to encourage you, as I know you like good living, I will engage to give you as good beef, mutton, poultry, and ſalt fiſh, as you ever met with, and as my countrymen ſay, a hundred thouſand welcomes. And now, taking it for granted, that you will be as tired with reading, as I am with writing, by the time you get thus far, I will finiſh, by aſſuring you, that I am your affectionate friend, and ſervant,

W. PATTERSON.

Colonel Lee.

DEAR SIR, Weſtminſter, Feb. 1ſt, 1774.

I RECEIVED two letters from you; one by Mr. Hey, the other by the pacquet: I thank you moſt ſincerely for both. Your firſt was particularly accept-

acceptable, as it gave me an opportunity of renewing and of improving my acquaintance with a gentleman, for whoſe character I have always had an high eſteem. My particular friends were the firſt who took notice of his merit. They imagined, that they could not do a better ſervice to government, in a newly acquired French country, than to ſend them one of the beſt ſamples we were able to furniſh of plain manly Engliſh ſenſe and integrity. I wiſh thoſe who rule at preſent may ſhew by the proviſion they make for him here, that ſuch qualities are ſtill in ſome requeſt among ourſelves.

It was extremely kind of you to remember your friends in our dull worn out hemiſphere, among the infinite objects of curioſity, that are ſo exuberantly ſpread out before you, in the vaſt field of America. There is indeed, abundant matter, both natural and political, to give full ſcope to a mind active and enterpriſing like yours; where ſo much has been done and undone; and where ſtill there is an ample range for wiſdom and miſtake. Either muſt produce conſiderable effects in an affair of ſuch extent and importance. It will be no light miſchief, and no trivial benefit. When one conſiders, what might be done there, it is truly miſerable to think of its preſent diſtracted condition: But as the errors which have brought things into that ſtate of confuſion are not

likely to be corrected by any influence of ours, upon either ſide of the water, it is not wiſe to ſpeculate too much on the ſubject; it can have no effect, but to make ourſelves uneaſy, without any poſſible advantage to the public.

Here, as we have met ſo we continue, in the moſt perfect repoſe. It has been announced to us, that we are to have no buſineſs but the gold coin; this has not appeared as yet: And if there be nothing further than we hear of intended, it will come on time enough. The politics of the continent, which uſed to engage your attention ſo much, attract no part of ours. Whether the American affairs will be brought before us is yet uncertain.

Saturday, I heard the Maſſachuſet's petition againſt their governor and deputy, diſcuſſed before council. It was ſpoken to, very ably by the counſel on either ſide; by Meſſrs. Dunning and Lee, for the province; by Mr. Wedderburn for the governors. The latter uttered a furious Philippic *againſt poor Doctor Franklin.* It required all his philoſophy, natural and acquired, to ſupport him againſt it. I hear that the petition will be rejected. The council was the fulleſt of any in our memory; thirty-five attended.

I hope, as you ſay nothing of it in your laſt letter, that your fit of the gout was but gentle, and rather a ſharp remedy than any thing that deſerves

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to be called a diſeaſe. With many thanks for your obliging remembrance, and all good wiſhes for an agreeable journey and ſafe return, I am,

Dear Sir,

Your moſt obedient humble Servant,

EDMUND BURKE.

DEAR LEE, New-York, June 10th, 1774.

I SHOULD have done myſelf the pleaſure to have wrote to you before; but really did not know where a letter would find you; ſometimes we heard you were gone to the Weſt-Indies; at another, that you were gone on to Carolina; by Mr. Bird, I am informed you are ſtill in Virginia.

I expected before now, to have heard from governor Cheſter, relative to your land in Weſt Florida, but ſuppoſe I ſhall ſhortly. I ſet out in a few days to join our worthy friend General Gage at Boſton; he is come out with very extraordinary powers, and has wrote for me: It is a very fortunate circumſtance, that the power both civil and military hath fallen into the hands of ſo moderate a man as General Gage; I hope he will gain great

credit on this critical occaſion; his abilities are good, and with reſpect to his heart, you who know him ſo well, will allow him to be poſſeſſed of one of the beſt kind.

Your things are all left with Mrs. Aire who will take care of them. I encloſe you a letter from Dunbar, and one I picked up in the coffee-houſe for you. Dagworthy has got a company in the 48th regiment, through Colonel Vaughan's intereſt.

I am, Dear Lee, with great truth,

Yours moſt ſincerely,

THOMAS GAMBLE.

To General Lee.

My dear Lee. Travellers Reſt, July 1, 1774.

I RECEIVED your welcome letter by Mr. Wormley, and live in daily expectation of ſeeing you at my hut. I now wiſh more than ever for that ſatisfaction, as the alarms of the times make me earneſt to conſult, and converſe with you thereupon. Until actions convince me of the contrary, I am reſolved to think Mr. Gage

has ſome ſecret medicine in his pocket, to heal the wounds that threaten the life of American liberty. Surely a man ſo humane, ſo ſenſible, ſo honourable, ſo independent in his circumſtances, and ſo great from family expectations, would never undertake a buſineſs, fit only for an abandoned deſperado, or a monſter in human ſhape, a General Murray, a Macro, or a Ravilliac.

I cannot think what detains you ſo far to the Southward, at this ſeaſon of the year; without any diſparagement to Williamſburg, health, and ſuch as you like for aſſociates, are more certainly to be met with to the Northward; I know not, how you find it, but the older I grow, I become leſs and leſs inclined to new acquaintance: Self-iſhneſs and ſycophantry poſſeſs ſo generally the minds of men, that I think the many are beſt avoided, and the few only who are liberal and ſincere, to be ſought for and careſſed. I therefore ſtick ſteadily to the cultivation of my farm, am intimate with few, read when I have time, and content myſelf with ſuch domeſtic comforts as my circumſtances and fortune afford me. I wiſh therefore, moſt anxiouſly, you would come to my retreat, and there let us philoſopize on the vices and virtues of this buſy world, the follies and the vanities of the great vulgar and the ſmall.

Laugh where we pleaſe, be candid where we can,
And juſtify the ways of God to man.

Mrs. Gates is earneſt in deſiring to ſee you un-

der her roof, where a good bed is provided for you, two or three ſlaves to ſupply all your wants and whimſies; and ſpace enough about us for you to exerciſe away all your ſpleen and gloomy moods, whenſoever they diſtreſs you. In my neighbourhood there is this moment as fine a farm mill, and tract of land to be ſold as any in America, and provided it is convenient to you to pay down half the price, I am convinced you may have it a very great bargain. It is altogether two thouſand four hundred acres, at thirty ſhillings ſterling an acre; I am ſatisfied you might have it ſo. By paying down about one thouſand eight hundred pounds ſterling, you may be put in poſſeſſion of an eſtate, that ten years hence will be worth ſeven thouſand pounds ſterling; and I take it for granted, that you may have the payment of the reſt of the purchaſe money, at eaſy inſtallments, and that too without intereſt; ſo by laying out a thouſand pounds ſterling more, in ſtocking and improvements, your produce will yield you a fine living, and wherewithal to pay your annual inſtallment, bargained for in the purchaſe. I ſuppoſe you have procured from Lord Dunmore his warrant for your five thouſand acres upon the Ohio, that will be very ſoon of conſiderable value. As to the Indians, the behaviour of certain of the white people is beyond all compariſon abominable towards thoſe unhappy natives; not content with quiet poſſeſſion of all the land on

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this ſide the Ohio, they demand as a preliminary to a peace, all the land between that river and the Miſſiſippi—but this ſtory is too long for a letter, you ſhall know the whole of this iniquitous affair when we meet—the gentleman who does me the the favour to preſent you this letter, has the pleaſure of your acquaintance, and can very fully inform you of the exceeding wickedneſs and abſurdity of the meaſures purſued, and purſuing, againſt the Indians. I have read with wonder and aſtoniſhment Gage's proclamations; ſurely this is not the ſame man, you and I knew ſo well in days of yore; but that men ſhould change, neither you nor I will be ſurpriſed at; it is rather matter of amazement when they do not.

Auguſt the ſeventeenth; I am this inſtant returned from Baltimore, and hoped to have croſſed upon you, in your route to the Northward, but like Swift's Mordanto you were vaniſhed. I was ſorry for it, as I might have prevailed upon you to have tempered your zeal with caution, before all ſuch perſons as may reaſonably be ſuſpected to watch your words and actions, where your zeal in the noble cauſe you mention can be exerted to effect, too much cannot be ſhewn; but be careful how you act, for be aſſured Gage knows you too well, and knows you know him too well not to be glad of any plauſible pretence to prevent your good ſervices in the public cauſe. Farewell, my friend; remember I am, what I have always pro-

profeſſed myſelf to be, and that I am ready to riſque my life to preſerve the liberty of the Weſtern world.

On this condition would I build my fame,
And emulate the Greek or Roman name;
Think Freedom's rights bought cheaply with my blood,
And die with pleaſure for my country's good.

While I live, I am

Yours unchangeably,

HORATIO GATES.

My dear Lee, London, Sep. 3d, 1774.

I RECEIVED your long letter with great pleaſure, and will anſwer it as fully as I am able. You muſt have miſunderſtood me, in what I ſaid of the bill to alter the Maſſachuſets government, if you imagined I had either concurred in, or even forborn to expreſs my fulleſt diſapprobation of it, when it was depending in the houſe. The fact is ſo much otherwiſe, that I fought it through every ſtage, almoſt alone, when moſt of the oppoſition were attending the New-Market meeting, or other occupations, equally entitled to be preferred

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to that duty. I may have ſaid indeed, that I prefer the form of the Engliſh government to that of any other country upon earth, becauſe it appears to me moſt calculated to reconcile neceſſary reſtraint and natural liberty, and to draw the line between them. It is the government I was born under, I am happy to live under, and would willingly die to preſerve and tranſmit entire; but I look upon the firſt principle of that conſtitution to be, that the whole muſt be governed by the will of the whole, and that any government where the authority reſiding with the *few* is ſupported by any other power than that of the *many*, in conſequence of their free concurrence and full approbation, is the worſt of tyranny. Judge then, my dear friend, whether I could approve of tearing from a free and happy people that form of government which had been purchaſed with the blood, and eſtabliſhed by the wiſdom of their anceſtors; and of ſubverting that excellent polity, endeared to them by their proſperity, and ſanctified by the moſt laudable of human predilections, a veneration for their anceſtors, and an enthuſiaſm for the permanence of their liberties. *Nolumus Leges Angliæ mutari*, was the nobleſt expreſſion that ever bore teſtimony to the ſpirit of a free legiſlature. I think it as laudable at Boſton now, as in London ſome centuries ago. So far I ſtand upon the ground of natural right and manly feeling—thus much, I ſay, becauſe—*Homo ſum*—but to deſcend

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to the humbler ground of policy, nothing can be ſo abſurd, or impolitic, as to ſhake a frame ſanctified by long poſſeſſion, for the caprice of a moment, or the fancies of a few; to ſacrifice the wiſdom of ages to the preſumption of an hour; and to divert the ſtream of government, which has fertiliſed the country and enriched the people, by channels which it has gradually formed for itſelf, by ſurmounting or eluding all the obſtacles it has met with in its courſe; from thoſe channels by dams raiſed by ſtrange hands unacquainted with the country, which if they are not borne down by the torrent muſt deluge the country and deſtroy the ancient land-marks. If therefore I prefer in ſpeculation the government of Virginia to that of Maſſachuſet's Bay, it is not from thinking that what appears beſt in the abſtract, ſhould be impoſed on all: on the contrary, I am convinced that the minds of individuals and the manners of a people form and adapt themſelves naturally and imperceptibly to the mode of government, under which they are born. The modifications of municipal inſtitutions are in themſelves indifferent, provided they are approved by the people; but it is of the eſſence of freedom, and common to all free governments, that the people ſhould be convinced, the laws they live under are of their own chuſing; and that there is no power on earth that can prolong their exiſtence, or give force to their injunc-

injunctions one hour, after the diſapprobation of the maſs of the people is ſignified.

I have been the more full upon this ſubject, becauſe I would not willingly be miſtaken in my principles upon ſo material a point. Now I am upon the ſubject of Maſſachuſets, I cannot help expreſſing my ſurprize that you ſhould have been ſo far miſinformed, as to have believed that I, amongſt the reſt, could ſpeak with " approbation of that ſcoundrel Hutchinſon," ſo far from it, that I agree with you in the epithet, and was the *only* perſon in the houſe that declared my deteſtation of his character, and my conviction that his whole conduct had been that of a parricide, who had attempted to ruin his country, to ſerve his own little narrow ſelfiſh purpoſes. This I did in ſuch pointed terms that I was informed he had afterwards waited upon a friend of mine, who did not ſee his character in ſo juſt a light, to thank him for what he was pleaſed to call, defending him againſt me. Be aſſured, I ſhall never ſpeak well of a man who recommends an abridgement of Engliſh liberties, in any part of the globe, where one ſpark remains unſmothered by corruption, and unextinguiſhed by violence. As to the Quebec Bill, I can, with pleaſure, aſſure you, that I oppoſed it, with activity throughout; and though I could not overſet it, I was at leaſt fortunate enough to ſet a defined bound to deſpotiſm; and ſay, ſo far ſhall thou go, and no farther,

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by drawing the line which protected New-York and Pennſylvania; though I have ſince been told, that Burke takes the merit to himſelf, but upon what grounds I know not, as I propoſed the line without any communication with him.

As to myſelf, I am out of Parliament, without any proſpect of being in; and though I ſhould have thought it infamous to have deſerted my poſt and not endeavoured to get in, yet I hardly can ſay, that I much regret my being out, there is ſo little proſpect of doing good.

I am, dear Lee,

Yours, &c.

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SIR, Baltimore, Jan. 12th, 1776.

YOUR civilities to me when at Proſpect-hill, were ſuch as I expected from the ſoldier and the gentleman, and demand my warmeſt thanks. I hope I ſhall ever bear a grateful remembrance of them.

I ſee by the papers, that you are removed to Newport, in Rhode Iſland, and therefore ſuſpect that the miniſterialiſts, unable to bear the preſſure

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of want, and the inclemencies of the ſeaſon, intend to remove from Boſton, and make Rhode-Iſland their head quarters, at leaſt for ſome time; but of this you can beſt judge whoſe experience, in ſome degree, enables you to penetrate the deſigns of thoſe in power.

The King's ſpeech to both Houſes of Parliament, at the opening of the ſeſſion, clearly evinces the neceſſity of ſpeedy and effectual exertions on the part of this continent, for the purpoſe of oppoſing, with force of arms, the infamous plan adopted by a venal miniſtry, for ſubverting our moſt ineſtimable privileges. We ſhould immediately unite, and call forth every ſpark of virtue in ſo great and important a conteſt, as all hopes of an accommodation are now loſt. America is happy in having for generals, gentlemen experienced in military operations.

With ardent wiſhes that America may riſe ſuperior to all oppreſſions, and become independent, I take the liberty of ſubſcribing myſelf,

Sir,

Your obliged, humble ſervant,

GEORGE LUX.

The Hon. Major Gen. Lee.

My dear General, Philadelphia, Feb. 19th 1776.

FORTUNE ſeems to be in a good humour with you. It is not enough that you have triumphed over external and internal enemies at New-York, but you are about to enjoy new triumphs in another part of the continent. I tremble only at the price of victory on the plains of Abraham.

I preſage the ſurviving your conqueſts from one part of your character, and that is, you have a wonderful talent of infuſing your ſpirit into the minds of your troops. Should your blood mingle with the blood of Wolfe, Montcalm, and Montgommery, poſterity will execrate the plains of Abraham to the end of time.

Your appointment to the Canada expedition gave all your friends here great pleaſure. I think it is more than probable, the principal force of our enemies will be ſent to that quarter. Canada is dearer to the king than all the other colonies put together, as it is the only part of the Britiſh empire in which arbitrary power is eſtabliſhed by law. Should that province become the ſeat of war, we ſhall have no reaſon to complain; for our ſea-coaſts and ſea-port towns are in a poor ſituation to receive our enemies.

The Gulph and River St. Laurence, it is to be hoped, will concur with the elements in embarraſſing

raſſing them. Mr. Pitt conquered America in Germany; who knows but General Lee may conquer Britain in America?

I need not tell you, how much pleaſure it will give me to receive a few lines from you by all the expreſſes you ſend to the Congreſs. I ſhall write to you moſt faithfully by the return of each of them. Colonel Thompſon ſpeaks in raptures of you in all companies.

The bearer of this letter is Mr. Paine, the celebrated author of Common Senſe.

Adieu, Yours &c.

An OLD FRIEND.

Gen. Lee.

SIR, Wincheſter, Jan. 27th, 1776.

YOUR favour of the tenth ultimo, did not reach me till the twenty-ſecond inſtant. I that day wrote you an anſwer by one Mr. Campbell who was on his way, and who promiſed to give my letter a conveyance, if he did not ſee you. I informed you, that I ſaw no objections to your paying off the incumbrances on your land, and the future payments whenever it is convenient for you to do ſo.

I ſhould be happy to ſee the important ſubject of the independence of North America, diſcuſſed in the perſpicuous and able manner you are capable of. I have troubled you with ſome of my crude thoughts, to afford you an opportunity when leiſure will permit, and inclination lead you, to explain my miſtakes and correct my errors. From the commencement of the preſent unhappy diſpute I conſidered the ſhedding of blood, if that event ſhould take place, as the æra, at which would terminate the Britiſh empire in America; or the colonies be ſubjugated to the abſolute domination of parliament; and when hoſtilities commenced, my mind was only agitated with the means of defending ourſelves, and forming a conſtitution which would ſecure ſubſtantial liberty to the people; but when I found the Congreſs entertained different views, that they had again petitioned the king for reconciliation, and declared to their fellow ſubjects throughout the empire, that their only end in taking up arms was to procure a redreſs of grievances and ſecure their properties and conſtitutional rights, ſolemnly diſclaiming every idea of eſtabliſhing an independent empire, it gave a different turn to my thoughts. I reflected that our anceſtors have fought many battles, and ſhed torrents of blood in ſupport of their conſtitutional rights, and whatever may have been the fate of arbitrary princes, the conſtitution was ever held ſacred, the inſtance of Charles's reign only excepted. The

Whigs were then obliged to join with the Tories, in reſtoring royalty in its luſtre to get rid of a phantom which the Independents had raiſed under the name of liberty. The hope of a re-union with our brethren of Great Britain, and of the increaſing grandeur and proſperity of the whole empire to me, I confeſs, had ſomething agreeable in it. I therefore with eagerneſs inveſtigated the propoſed plan of operations, to enable me to judge of the probable event, and I found, or thought I found, the ſecurity of our liberties, in connection with Great Britain almoſt certainly attainable; at any rate more practicable than the eſtabliſhing an independent ſtate; for the following among other reaſons, that the people of America were determinately united in ſupport of that meaſure; that every inſult and injury from adminiſtration only tended to animate and cement; that the greateſt trading cities and moſt reſpectable characters in England are our friends; that even our enemies in parliament dare not ſtand the attack on the proper ground; but, in order to carry their point, have always inſiſted we were aiming at independency. That the belief of this is the ſole reaſon we have any enemies among the people of England, and though I am of opinion, the governing powers of Britain would rather loſe the colonies totally, than yield one iota of their pretenſions, the people will think very differently when convinced our views extend no further than to the ſecurity of

thoſe rights, which they themſelves hold eſſential to liberty. That it would be impoſſible for government to carry on a war againſt the inclinations, and ſo deſtructive to the intereſts of the people, as the preſent muſt obviouſly appear, when it is remembered, the cauſe of our conteſt is the aſſumed power of parliament, to tax the colonies, to alter our forms of government, to tranſport us to Britain for the trial of ſuppoſed offences and to make laws, regulating our internal police. That the ſword would even drop from the hand of a Britiſh ſoldier, if he believed it pointed againſt the breaſt of a man contending for his birth-right. That an attempt to eſtabliſh an independency would unite England as one man againſt us; and though ſhe is burdened with an enormous debt, and deprived of a moſt valuable branch of commerce, ſhe has ſtill great reſources; and it is not eaſy to foreſee the conſequences of the utmoſt exertions of her powers. Beſides, it appears to be the intereſt of Europe, that America ſhould remain dependent. The power and importance of England, which by a defection of the colonies, ſhe would loſe, is neceſſary in the European ſyſtem. Holland and Portugal, I think, owe their political exiſtence to her; and even thoſe ſtates which might wiſh to ſee her depreſſed, were their intereſts confined to Europe, would dread greater evils from the eſtabliſhment of an independent empire in North America, the certain conſequences of which would

would be, I apprehend, the loſs of Mexico, South America, and the Weſt India Iſlands to whomſoever belonging. But it is a neceſſary enquiry, on what terms can our differences be adjuſted which will ſecure us from future conteſts ? I anſwer, it is impoſſible. The nature of human affairs is ſuch, that no political ſyſtem can be eſtabliſhed which the folly of weak, or ambition of wicked men will not in time ſubvert. Let Great Britain relinquiſh her claim of internal legiſlation and taxation ; let ſtated times be limited for the holding and duration of Aſſemblies, and counſellors dependent on the Crown, be deprived of legiſlative powers, or hold their places during life ; and let ſupreme judges be appointed in each colony, to hold their places during good behaviour, with certain and adequate ſalaries. All this would be no real injury to England, the only advantage ſhe ever did, or ever can receive from America is her commerce, an equitable ſhare of which, ought to be ſecured to her by a grand commercial ſyſtem, to be agreed on by the legiſlators of the two countries, and to remain unalterable, except by mutual conſent. Such a plan of accommodation I think, offers as fair for the permanent ſecurity of peace, wealth, and liberty, as any I have heard, or can deviſe for the government of America in an independent ſtate. I take it for granted, as I have never heard it diſputed, that a popular or democratic government muſt take place, which in its moſt perfect ſtate, I think

much inferior to the mixed government of Britain; for I hold it as a maxim, that wherever the ſupreme power is veſted in one man, or one body of men, the liberty of the ſubject is at beſt precarious. It appears from hiſtory, that popular fury is as formidable, and often exerciſed with as much injuſtice as royal indignation. Frequent elections are no ſecurity in this caſe, the ſpirit of the people always influences the repreſentative body, and if a man becomes unpopular, however innocent, his ruin is inevitable. To you I need not give inſtances; neither is it poſſible in ſuch a conſtitution, to render the judicial powers totally independent. The ſame body of men who have the appointment of the judges, having alſo the power of removing them, will carry popular prejudice even to the ſeats of juſtice. In this reſpect, England has the advantage of all other nations. In cool diſpaſſionate hours, the three branches of the legiſlature concur in enacting laws for the general good of the community. The meaneſt ſubject cannot be puniſhed unleſs he tranſgreſſes thoſe laws, neither can the judges be diſplaced for faithfully executing them, without the like concurrence. This protects individuals equally from popular violence, and the arbitrary meaſures of kings and courtiers. But is America capable of receiving a democratic government? Have we that induſtry, frugality, œconomy, that virtue which is neceſſary to conſtitute it? Laws and

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conſtitutions muſt be adapted to the manners of the people; they do not, they cannot form them. Whenever the manners change, the laws change with them, or loſe their force. Is not North America too extenſive for a popular government? But I find the ſpirit of the times is againſt a union; we muſt then become a confederacy of republics, each having ſupreme powers within itſelf. Does not this afford a proſpect of perpetual wars and internal feuds, till ſome one colony, or perhaps one man, becomes maſter of the whole continent? Recur to the hiſtoric page, and point out the age and country where this, under ſimilar circumſtances, has not been the caſe? The united provinces being ſurrounded by more powerful ſtates, materially diſtinguiſhes their ſituation from that of theſe colonies. A Congreſs or general council for regulating the affairs of the whole confederacy will hardly be ſufficient to maintain peace. There was a general council of the Engliſh Heptarchy, yet that iſland was an uninterrupted ſcene of blood and ſlaughter, till united under one head. There is a general diet of the German empire, yet every one knows that the princes of the empire ſubmit to its decrees, juſt as far as ſuits their own purpoſes. Greece had her Amphictyons, yet was not without inteſtine wars.

The country being called to arms for the expreſs purpoſe of defending and ſecuring her conſtitutional liberty, is there not an inconſiſtency in employing thoſe arms to quite different purpoſes,

at leaſt till it is known whether the original end be attainable? and ſurely the moſt ſanguine could not expect that point ſo ſoon determined? Or that we could force England to a compliance with our terms in the courſe of one campaign.

An apology might well be expected for this trouble; if I had a good one to offer, you ſhould have it. Some ſlight touches on the ſubject with ſeveral expreſſions of regard interſperſed through your letters of buſineſs, emboldened me to take this liberty, and further, to requeſt an anſwer.

I am one of thoſe who have ever wiſhed and gloried in the honour and proſperity of the Britiſh empire; but if a ſeparation takes place, intereſt, inclination, every conſideration will induce me to take part with my native land, and my beſt endeavours ſhall not be wanting to render the Americans a free, happy, and independent people. Any lights which you may throw on the ſubject, ſhall be faithfully improved to that purpoſe, as far as my narrow ſphere, (and it is a very narrow one,) permits. The arguments of pamphleteers, and and newſpaper ſcribblers, on both ſides of the queſtion, have been ſo abſurd, fallacious, or at leaſt ſuperficial, that very little inſtruction or pleaſure, could be derived from reading them. Heartily wiſhing you ſucceſs in every patriotic exertion of your abilities, I remain with eſteem, Sir,

Your very humble ſervant,

Major Gen. Lee. ALEX. WHITE.

SIR, Stafford, Feb 5th, 1776.

IMMEDIATELY after I had waited upon you at Philadelphia, I proceeded to New-York, and finding much difficulty in purſuing my intended journey, I delivered your diſpatches to Mr. Lewis, by direction of Mr. Van B. Livingſton, and wrote to you at my return, acquainting you therewith. I have not wrote to you ſo frequently as I would do, imagining that your time might be employed better, in matters of greater moment, to the public; and where public utility is in queſtion, apologies become unneceſſary; be pleaſed therefore to accept the following hints from one who has ſeen ſervice. I am amazed at a ſhip or two laying at New-York for ſome time paſt; I never ſaw two veſſels that lay in more danger were they attacked and they alſo know it. The Aſia lay long in the North River, and refuſed to go into the ſound, until Parker a ſenior captain was ſent with a ſhip to reinforce him, with poſitive orders from the admiral to join; it may alſo be ſeen by their writing to the mayor, and by Parker's threatening and bullying the town. There are three ways of taking or deſtroying theſe ſhips, could it be kept ſecret: Firſt, by boarding; for as the Aſia muſt ground at low water, the ſprings upon cables would be of no uſe; and, I apprehend, that her lower guns could not range over the wharf when aground, therefore a few guns with grape ſhot run down upon the wharfs,

wharfs, upon her bow and quarters, would effectually ſweep and clear her decks, while the people boarded. Secondly, if there were mortars or even guns to throw combuſtible matter on the decks, into the rigging, to ſtick on her ſides, with grape as before, to prevent extinguiſhment, the guns with the grape would be out of the power of her guns while aground. The third and beſt method, as I imagine, I would undertake myſelf, with a reaſonable perſon to command the detachment, as ſecond in command, or engineer, or conductor of the works, or, as I told you, in any character, ſo that I might be ſerviceable to the cauſe.

The method I will here lay down to the beſt of my ability; there is Long Iſland and Nutten Iſland, well ſituated to place guns; and, I imagine, three or four hundred men would be ſufficient to compleat in one night all the neceſſary works: The greateſt difficulty would be, to get cannon to Nutten Iſland, but they might come from the Narrows by night in flats. It would be impoſſible to point out either the facilities, or difficulties of the undertaking in the courſe of a letter; the greateſt difficulty will be, to keep it ſecret from the people of Staten Iſland, Long Iſland, and New-York. If this matter is not ſoon put in execution, they will be reinforced, or they will fall into the North River; but if there was lodgment with ſome guns upon Nutten Iſland, with the town battery to aſſiſt, they could not get out without running aground.

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As ſoon as the batteries upon Long Iſland begin to play, there ſhould be ſome of the Connecticut men, or ſome others, ready to run down upon the wharfs, with ſome few guns a-head and a-ſtern, with grape, to clear the decks, and fire into the ports. While loading, the batteries will have this advantage, that they can play by night, if clear; this method will ſo harraſs and diſable them, that they muſt ſtrike quickly or they will be boarded. When this affair is finiſhed the men ſhould immediately march to the Narrows, and erect a battery that would keep all out, and all in; twenty guns properly diſpoſed, would ſink any veſſel that would dare attempt to go up, and would be out of the range of all ſhot from the ſhipping. Your cruiſers would find ſhelter and a good harbour. Had this been done laſt ſummer, our enemies at Boſton would have ſtarved before now. There ſhould be a camp formed there early in the ſpring, and two ſtrong forts erected with retrenchments to cover them; for you may depend upon it, there will be a vigorous puſh made early to get up the North River; works upon each ſide would greatly retard and delay their operations; and I doubt not, but defeat the deſign of the campaign. To attack both, they muſt divide their army, which would greatly harraſs them; and if they wait to attack them one after another, the campaign is loſt, beſides the attacks made upon them at landing within the vicinity, and perhaps under cover of theſe

forts

forts and retrenchments; alſo the attacks on their rear, while they are attacking the works. In ſhort, we have every thing in our favour, to defeat the enſuing campaign, if we only begin in time, and conduct matters properly.

You want nothing but experienced officers five hundred at leaſt. But to return to the men of war, that I find ſo much intimidates the people of this country, is a well conſtructed floating battery, formidable and powerful in her own element at ſea, no doubt; but when oppoſed to the land, is only an egg-ſhell. Batteries and guns properly placed will ſoon ſilence them. I will here deſcribe as well as I can, the batteries of late made uſe of againſt ſhipping; the old batteries in our ports and harbours at home are found almoſt uſeleſs. As they are all built ſimilar or like that at New-York, very low and near the water, whereby the veſſel has all the power over them that ſhe could wiſh, not only from her great guns, but ſmall arms; whereas, quite the reverſe ought to be the caſe; the batteries ſhould be fixed at a diſtance from the water and veſſel, no nearer than two hundred yards if the ground will admit, from the channel, or where the veſſel is to anchor or ſail, and upon ground high enough to be out of the range of her ſhot, if ſuch ground cannot be found, take the higheſt you can get and ſink, or let in your platforms and guns upon the top or ſummit of the hill, the muzzles of the guns as it were, peeping

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out of the hill. Thus the men will work their guns when thus ſituated with facility and ſafety, and out of the reach of all ſhot. There is no ſhip in the world that would dare offer to attack or paſs ſuch a battery, if twenty guns were mounted. Theſe are the kind of batteries that I would propoſe for all attacks upon veſſels, and what I would make uſe of, upon Long Iſland and Nutten Iſland, and though the land is not ſo high as may be wiſhed, yet the ſinking and letting in the guns into the firm and higheſt ground will anſwer the purpoſe no doubt: ſhips fire very ſlow, and fire at random, neither can it be imagined that men can ſtand to their guns, where ſhot and ſplinters are continually flying, much leſs level and point guns accurately. In ſhort, they muſt do as the French did on board of four ſail of the line at Louiſburg, in a ſhort time they muſt ſtrike, or jump into the hold, notwithſtanding we never had more than two guns playing upon any ſhip at a time. Twelve guns would be ſufficient, ſix upon Long Iſland and ſix upon Nutten Iſland, and twelve pounders would be heavy enough, as the diſtance is but ſhort, and leſs than three pound of powder would be ſufficient for a charge. There ought to be two men to each gun, that underſtand loading and firing, the reſt may be raw. I would imagine that Lord Sterling would be a very proper perſon to command the detachment, and would readily accept it. I make no doubt, the troops might keep moving, ſome at

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the Narrows, ſome at the Ferry at York, ſome even might go to Jamaica, Flat Buſh, &c. until guns and other matters are in readineſs. The commanding officer and engineer at the Ferry, off and on, to reconnoitre the ground, and view the poſition of the veſſels. I have here thrown a few matters together, in a rough manner; however, I ſhall not needleſsly make any apology for troubling you, as the intention is good. I can aſſure you, that theſe hints, as I call them, are no whim, or production of my own, but are drawn from real practice and experience which I have often ſeen and helped to execute in rivers, lakes, and harbours, during twenty-eight years ſervice. I cannot diſmiſs the Narrows, the enemy ſhould not be allowed to ſlip into the heart of the country, without gaining it by inches: the Narrows are centrical and the people thereabouts diſpoſed to be troubleſome; it is a moſt deſirable ſituation for an army, as they can act either to the Eaſtward, or Weſtward together, or ſeparate, and ſupplies can come from all quarters either by land or water. A battery placed as beforementioned has great power and command of ſhipping; one ſhot fired in this angular manner from an eminence, will do more execution than twenty fired horizontally; for if the ſhot ſtrike the veſſel on one ſide, between wind and water, they will come out on the other ſide ſome feet below water; in ſhort, their powder-room and all is in danger, nor will the men's lying flat upon

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the decks ſcreen them. I have had experience of this, acting as a marine officer on board men of war: You want, as I have ſaid before, experienced officers, who have explored the country, rivers, lakes, and difficult paſſes; in ſhort, that know every inch of ground, that have drubbed, and been drubbed; for drubbing brings men to reaſon and reflection. I beg you would offer my ſervices to the honourable the Congreſs, as one that has ſeen ſervice both in horſe, foot, and marines. There is not an officer in America this day has ſeen more ſervice than I have, both abroad and at home, during both the late wars. Nothing would prevail with me to engage again, but the preſent cauſe; my all is now at ſtake, the die is thrown: I muſt conquer or die.

I am, Sir, moſt reſpectfully

Your moſt humble and moſt

Obedient Servant,

TREVOR NEWLAND.

Major Gen. Lee.

DEAR SIR, Philadelphia, Feb. 11th, 1776.

THE bearer, Monſ. Arundel, is directed by the Congreſs to repair to General Schuyler, in order

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to be employed by him in the Artillery ſervice. He propoſes to wait on you in his way, and has requeſted me to introduce him by a line to you. He has been an officer in the French ſervice, as you will ſee by his commiſſions; and profeſſing a good-will to our cauſe, I hope he may be uſeful in inſtructing our gunners and matroſſes: perhaps he may adviſe in opening the nailed cannon.

I received the encloſed, the other day, from an officer, Mr. Newland, who ſerved in the two laſt wars, and was known by General Gates, who ſpoke well of him to me when I was at Cambridge. He is deſirous now of entering into your ſervice. I have adviſed him to wait upon you at New-York.

They ſtill talk big in England, and threaten hard; but their language is ſomewhat civiller, at leaſt, not quite ſo diſreſpectful to us. By degrees they come to their ſenſes, but too late, I fancy, for their intereſt.

We have got a large quantity of ſalt-petre, one hundred and twenty ton, and thirty more expected. Powder-mills are now wanting; I believe we muſt ſet to work and make it by hand. But I ſtill wiſh, with you, that pikes could be introduced, and I would add bows and arrows: theſe were good weapons, not wiſely laid aſide: 1ſt. Becauſe a man may ſhoot as truly with a bow as with a common muſket.

2d. He can diſcharge four arrows in the time of charging and diſcharging one bullet.

3d. His object is not taken from his view by the ſmoke of his own ſide.

4th. A flight of arrows ſeen coming upon them, terrifies and diſturbs the enemies' attention to his buſineſs.

5th. An arrow ſtriking in any part of a man, puts him *hors du combat* till it is extracted.

6th. Bows and arrows are more eaſily provided everywhere than muſkets and ammunition.

Polydore Virgil, ſpeaking of one of our battles againſt the French in Edward the Third's reign, mentions the great confuſion the enemy was thrown into, *ſagittarum nube*, from the Engliſh; and concludes, *Eſt res profecto dictu mirabiles, ut tantus ac potens exercitus a ſolis ferè Anglicis ſagittariis victus fuerit; adeo Anglus eſt ſagitti potens, et id genus armorum valet.* If ſo much execution was done by arrows when men wore ſome defenſive armour, how much more might be done now that is out of uſe!

I am glad you are come to New-York, but I alſo wiſh you could be in Canada. There is a kind of ſuſpence in men's minds here at preſent, waiting to ſee what terms will be offered from England. I expect none that we can accept; and when that is generally ſeen, we ſhall be more unanimous and more deciſive: then your propoſed ſolemn league and covenant will go better down,

and perhaps moſt of your other ſtrong meaſures adopted.

I am always glad to hear from you, but I do not deſerve your favours, being ſo bad a correſpondent. My eyes will now hardly ſerve me to write by night, and theſe ſhort days have been all taken up by ſuch variety of buſineſs, that I ſeldom can ſit down ten minutes without interruption.—God give you ſucceſs.

I am, with the greateſt eſteem,

Yours affectionately,

B. FRANKLIN.

Major Gen. Lee.

My dear Sir, Philadelphia, Feb. 19th, 1776.

THE Congreſs have ſeen ſuch a neceſſity of an able commander in Canada, as to deſtine you to that moſt arduous ſervice. I tremble for your health, yet I hope the campaign will rather promote it than otherwiſe. We want you at New-York; we want you at Cambridge; we want you in Virginia; but Canada ſeems of more importance than any of thoſe places, and therefore you are ſent there. I wiſh you as many laurels as

Wolfe and Montgomery reaped there, with an happier fate. Health and long life after a glorious return.

But I am aſhamed to go on in ſuch a ſtrain when writing to you whoſe time is ſo much better employed than in reading it, ſince I took up my pen only to introduce to your acquaintance a countryman of yours, and a citizen of the world, to whom a certain heretical pamphlet, called *Common Senſe*, is imputed. His name is PAINE. He is travelling to New-York for his curioſity, and wiſhes to ſee a gentleman whoſe character he ſo highly reſpects.

A luckier, a happier expedition than yours to New-York never was projected. The whole Whig world are bleſſing you for it, and none of them more than,

Your friend and ſervant,

JOHN ADAMS.

Major Gen. Lee.

SIR, Philadelphia, Feb. 19th, 1776.

I HAVE the honour to incloſe you ſundry reſolutions of Congreſs, by which you will perceive, it is the deſire of Congreſs, that you ſhould

repair to Canada, and take upon you the command of the army of the United Colonies in that province. I need not mention the importance of the truſt repoſed in you, and the happy effects it will have in ſecuring the liberty of America, if you ſhould be ſo fortunate as to drive our enemies, the enemies of liberty and the rights of mankind, out of it. I heartily pray, that the Diſpoſer of Events may grant you ſucceſs equal to your merit and zeal.

As you will want battering cannon, which are not to be had in that province, you are to apply to the Convention, or Committee of Safety of New-York; to whom, by this opportunity, I ſend the recommendation of Congreſs to ſupply you with twelve, ſuch as you ſhall judge moſt ſuitable, and ſome mortars, if they have or can procure them; with balls, ſhells, and other neceſſaries; and alſo to aſſiſt you in forwarding them. Eight tons of powder are now on their way to Albany, for the forces in Canada; and as a very conſiderable quantity of ſaltpetre is ſent to the mills of Mr. Wiſner and Mr. Livingſtone, ſhould there be occaſion for more, you will be ſupplied from thence.

You will readily perceive the neceſſity of conferring with General Schuyler, and with him conſulting on the beſt methods of having neceſſaries conveyed to you acroſs the lakes. The Congreſs have a full confidence that you will co-operate in

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ſecuring the poſſeſſion of the lakes, and mutually aſſiſting each other as occaſion may require; and, as far as in your power, give mutual aid in ſupporting the cauſe of freedom and liberty. I expect the deputies will in a ſhort time be ready to proceed to Canada.

I am, with every ſentiment of eſteem,

Sir,

Your moſt obedient,

Humble ſervant,

JOHN HANCOCK, Preſ.

Hon. Major Gen. Lee.

DEAR SIR, Philadelphia, March 1ſt, 1776.

AFTER a warm conteſt, occaſioned by the high eſtimation the members of Congreſs have of your worth and abilities, every one wiſhing to have you where he had moſt at ſtake, the Congreſs have at length determined to ſupercede the orders given you to proceed to Canada, and have this day come to a reſolution that you ſhall take the command of the continental forces in the ſouthern

department, which comprehends Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia.

The Congreſs have alſo appointed ſix new brigadier Generals; *viz.* John Armſtrong, William Thompſon, Andrew Lewis, James Moore, Lord Sterling, and Robert How, Eſq. four of whom you are to command in the ſouthern department, and two in the middle. By this conveyance I have forwarded the commiſſion for his Lordſhip. As ſoon as your health and the neceſſary orders you may think proper to give, for putting New-York in a ſtate of defence, will permit, I have it in charge to direct that you repair to the department put under your immediate command.

In expectation of ſeeing you ſoon in this place, on your way, I need not add, but that,

I am, with every ſentiment of regard and eſteem,

Sir,

Your moſt obedient ſervant,

JOHN HANCOCK, Preſ.

Hon. Major Gen. Lee,
New-York.

DEAR

DEAR GENERAL, Head-quarters, Feb. 26th, 1776.

Laſt night I had the pleaſure to receive yours of the 15th. I am rejoiced you have weathered this fit of the gout; I don't think you will have another this winter, if you was careful in letting that paſs off; it may probably be of much ſervice to your conſtitution. When I mentioned Canada, I did not mean you ſhould winter there; if you can ſecure the entrance into it, by getting Quebec, and poſſeſſing it this ſummer, you may leave the care of that province to your Brigadiers for the winter to come. The General was pleaſed you wrote to him, as he began to think you tardy. He writes to you by this expreſs. I like your intention of making the fort an open redoubt; I think ſome heavy guns upon the ſouth and weſt ſides, with good ſod merlons, will make the men of war keep aloof. It is a pretty high ſituation, and battering it at a diſtance, over the lower batteries, would have but little effect. We have lately had reaſons to ſuppoſe Mr. Howe had thoughts of leaving Boſton; the General will tell you his reaſons for thinking that was intended. Clinton, I am ſatisfied, went to ſee how affairs were circumſtanced at New-York, to conſult with Tryon, and to prepare the way for Howe's reception. Unleſs the enemy repoſſeſs Canada, they cannot reinſtrate the king's affairs on this conti-

nent; there is no way to recover Canada, but by the Rivers of St. Laurence and Hudſon. The St. Laurence is not practicable until late in May; therefore, the firſt attempt would moſt aſſuredly be made at New-York: for theſe reaſons, I think your hands ſhould be ſtrengthened as much, and as expeditiouſly as poſſible. I am afraid you are deficient in gun-carriages; employ all the hands you can procure to make them. I am glad you expreſs yourſelf ſo well pleaſed with the Captains, Smith and Badlam; the former has good talents, and will, I hope, prove as faithful as he is capable. Ere long it will be known if I am right in my conjecture, that the great body of the enemy mean to endeavour to take poſt at, or near, New-York. Should that happen to be attempted, be aſſured we ſhall march with the utmoſt expedition to ſupport you. I expect ſoon to ſee Palfrey, in conſequence of what I wrote to him, when I hope to hear you are in perfect health. Little Euſtace is well, but nothing is done for him as yet. You know the more than Scotch partiality of theſe folks. I have had much to do to ſupport the lad you put into Colonel Whitcomb's regiment. They have no complaint in nature againſt him, but that he is too good an officer. What, in the name of reaſon, can Hite have trumped up, to commence a ſuit in Chancery upon? Mrs. Gates and I have puzzled our brains to find it out. The incloſed I deſire you will order to be immediately

delivered

delivered to the poſtmaſter. Mrs. Gates joins me in every good wiſh for your health and ſucceſs.

I am ever affectionately,

Yours,

HORATIO GATES.

Major Gen. Lee.

DEAR SIR, Philadelphia, Feb. 19th, 1776.

I REJOICE that you are going to Canada. I hope the gout will not have the courage to follow you into that ſevere climate. I believe you will have the number of men you wiſh for. I am told there will be two thouſand more, but there are always deficiences.

The bearer, Mr. Paine, has requeſted a line of introduction to you, which I give the more willingly, as I know his ſentiments are not very different from yours: he is the reputed, and, I think, the real author of *Common Senſe*, a pamphlet that has made great impreſſion here. I do not enlarge, both becauſe he waits, and becauſe I hope for the pleaſure of conferring with you face to face in Canada. I will only add, that we are aſſured here on the part of France, that the troops

ſent

ſent to the Weſt Indies have no inimical views to us or our cauſe. It is thought they intend a war without a previous declaration.

God proſper all your undertakings, and return you with health, honour, and happineſs.

Yours moſt affectionately,

B. FRANKLIN.

Major Gen. Lee.

SIR, Philadelphia, July 22d, 1776.

YOUR favour of the 2d inſtant, containing the very agreeable intelligence of the ſucceſs of the American army under your command, I had the honour of receiving, and immediately laid the ſame before Congreſs.

The ſame enlarged mind, and diſtinguiſhed ardour in the cauſe of freedom, that taught you to deſpiſe the prejudices which have enſlaved the bulk of mankind, when you nobly undertook the defence of American liberty, will entitle you to receive from poſterity the fame due to ſuch exalted and diſintereſted conduct.

That

That a handful of men, without the advantage of military experience, animated only with the ſacred love of liberty, ſhould repulſe a powerful fleet and army, are circumſtances that muſt excite gratitude and wonder in the friends of America, and prove a ſource of the moſt mortifying diſappointment to our enemies.

Accept, therefore, Sir, the thanks of the Independent States of America, *unanimouſly* declared by their delegates to be due to you and the brave officers and troops under your command, who repulſed with ſo much valour the attack that was made on the ſtate of South Carolina, on the 28th of June, by the fleet and army of his Britannic Majeſty; and be pleaſed to communicate to them this diſtinguiſhed mark of the approbation of their country.

I have the honour to be, with the greateſt reſpect,

Sir,

Your moſt obedient,

And very humble ſervant,

JOHN HANCOCK, Preſ.

Major Gen. Lee.

My dear Lee, New-York, May, 1776.

YOUR favour of the 5th ult. from Williamſburg, the firſt I have received from you ſince you left this city, came to my hands by the laſt poſt. I thank you for your kind congratulations on our poſſeſſion of Boſton. I thank you for your good wiſhes in our future operations, and hope that every diabolical attempt to deprive mankind of their inherent rights and privileges, whether made in the Eaſt, Weſt, North, or South, will be attended with diſappointment and diſgrace, and that the authors in the end will be brought to ſuch puniſhment, as an injured people have a right to inflict.

General Howe's retreat from Boſton was precipitate, beyond any thing I could have conceived. The deſtruction of the ſtores at Dunbar's camp after Braddock's defeat was but a faint image of what was ſeen at Boſton; artillery carts cut to pieces in one place; gun carriages in another; ſhells broke here; ſhot buried there, and every thing carrying with it the face of diſorder and confuſion, as alſo of diſtreſs.

Immediately upon their embarkation, I detached a brigade of five regiments to this city, and upon their ſailing, removed with the whole army hither, except four regiments at Boſton, and one at Beverley, &c. for the protection of thoſe places, the ſtores and barracks there,

and

and for erecting works for defending the harbour of the firſt. Immediately upon my arrival here I detached four regiments by order of Congreſs to Canada, (to wit, Poors, Patterſon's, Treaton's, and Bond's,) under the command of Brigadier Thompſon, and ſince that, by the ſame authority, and in conſequence of ſome unfavourable accounts from that quarter, General Sullivan and ſix other regiments, namely, Starke's, Reed's Wain's, Irvine's, Wind's, and Dayton's have moved off for that department; the four laſt regiments are of Pennſylvania, and New-Jerſey. The firſt brigade arrived at Albany the twenty-fourth ultimo, and were moving on, when accounts came from thence the twenty-ſeventh, The other brigade muſt all be at Albany before this, as ſome of the regiments ſailed ten days ago, and the laſt four, and the winds very favourable. This has left us very weak at this place, whilſt I have my fears that the reinforcement will ſcarce get to Canada in time, for want of teams to tranſport the troops, &c. to Fort George, and veſſels to convey them on afterwards.

We have done a great deal of work at this place. In a fortnight more, I think the city will be in a very reſpectable poſture of defence. Governor's Iſland has a large and ſtrong work erected, and a regiment encamped there. The point below, called Red Hook, has a ſmall, but exceeding ſtrong barbet battery; and ſeveral new works

works are conſtructed, and many of them almoſt executed at other places.

General Ward, upon the evacuation of Boſton, and finding that there was a probability of his removing from the ſmoke of his own chimney, applied to me, and wrote to Congreſs for leave to reſign. A few days afterwards, ſome of the officers, as he ſays, getting *uneaſy* at the proſpect of his leaving them, he applied for his letter of reſignation, which had been committed to my care; but, behold! it had been carefully forwarded to Congreſs, and, as I have ſince learnt, judged ſo reaſonable, (*want of health* being the plea,) that it was inſtantly complied with. Brigadier Fry, previous to this, alſo conceiving that their was nothing entertaining or profitable to an old man, to be marching and counter-marching, deſired, immediately on the evacuation of Boſton, (which happened on the 17th of March,) that he might *reſign his commiſſion on the 11th of April:* the choice of the day became a matter of great ſpeculation, and remained profoundly myſterious till he exhibited his account, when there appeared neither more nor leſs in it, than the completion of three calender months; the pay of which he received without any kind of compunction, although he had never done one tour of duty, or, I believe, had ever been out of his houſe from the time he entered till he quitted Cambridge.

So much for two Generals: I have next to inform

form you, that the Pay-maſter-general, Colonel Warren, not finding it convenient to attend the army, from the various employments and avocations in which he was engaged, alſo reſigned his commiſſion, and is ſucceeded by your old aid, Palfrey.

When I was ſpeaking of the diſtreſſed ſituation of the king's troops, and the Tories, at their evacuation of Boſton, I might have gone on, and added, that their misfortunes did not end here. It ſeems upon their arrival at Halifax, many of the former were obliged to encamp, although the ground was covered deep with ſnow; and the latter, to to pay ſix dollars a-week for ſorry upper-rooms, and ſtow in them, men, women, and children, as thick, comparatively, as the hair upon their heads. This induced many of theſe gentry to return, and throw themſelves upon the mercy and clemency of their countrymen, who were for ſending them immediately back, as the propereſt and ſevereſt puniſhment they could inflict; but death being preferred to this, they now wait in confinement, any other that may be thought due to ſuch parricides.

All the ſhips of war have left this place, and gone down to the Hook, except the Aſia, which lays five miles below the Narrows, and about twelve or fourteen from hence. I could have added more, but my paper will not admit of it. With compliment, therefore, to the gentlemen of

my

my acquaintance with you, and with the moſt fervent wiſhes for your health and ſucceſs,

I remain,

Your moſt affectionate,

G. WASHINGTON.

Major Gen. Lee.

SIR, Tyaquin, North Carolina, June 11th, 1776.

THIS moment yours of the 1ſt inſtant came to my hand. The note incloſed, directed to the commanding officer of the corps of Virginia forces, intended for the ſtation of Hillſborough, I will uſe my beſt endeavour to tranſmit ſo ſoon as I can learn who he is, or for what part of Virginia they are ordered; of both I am now entirely uninformed, having heard nothing of ſuch deſtination until I received your letter. If I can get no information in my neighbourhood, I will ſend your note to the commanding officer of Halliſax or Mecklinburgh county; which, lying contiguous to this, are moſt likely to have received orders to march hither.

I cannot

I cannot ſay, Sir, that I rejoice that the enemy have abandoned their deſign on this colony. Their force could not have effected much againſt us, but they may prove troubleſome to ſome of our ſouthern neighbours, who are probably not ſo well provided for defence as we are.

I beg leave, Sir, to wiſh you all poſſible ſucceſs in your generous efforts for the defence of the undoubted rights of mankind. Had the ſcene of action been where we firſt expected, I intended to have put myſelf a volunteer under your command, and to have contributed my little aſſiſtance towards that ſucceſs which I am aſſured would have attended your command. Remote as the ſcene may be, I ſhall not bear abſence from it with much patience; and were it not almoſt ruin to my private affairs, no campaign ſhould paſs without receiving the little aſſiſtance I could perſonally give; for though I am no military character, nor ambitous of ſuch diſtinction, the cauſe in which we are now engaged, and in which I have unremittingly ſtruggled ſince the ſtamp act, makes me anxious to be a witneſs and an actor, however inconſiderable, in every ſcene of importance, whether military or civil, which may relate to it.

I have the honour to be, with ſingular reſpect,

Sir,

Your obedient ſervant,

THOMAS BURKE.

Major Gen. Lee.

DEAR SIR, Philadelphia, June 17th, 1778.

I HEARTILY thank you for your letter, and regret that I cannot have the pleaſure of meeting you; the great wiſh of my life is to ſee peace between two countries I almoſt equally love, while it is a queſtion whether this or an inexterminable war is to take place. I meant in words I had learnt from you, to ſet before you the many and mutual advantages both would derive from an agreement; and as the terms now offered are more for the intereſt of your favourite America than you ever hoped to obtain, I ſhould have made no ſcruple to aſk your good offices, and to engage my own, to remove any obſtacles that might obſtruct the peace.

I ſhould think it a greater honour to contribute in the ſmalleſt degree to this, than to have the greateſt ſhare in bringing about victory: theſe, to a thinking man like you, who has many friends on both ſides, ſubject him to a double regret.

I may not find another occaſion of meeting you eaſily, but I would travel far to have the pleaſure of embracing you, as a fellow ſubject of the ſame empire, and a friend. You will ſee by ſome ſpeeches in the Houſe of Commons, that others whom you value have the ſame wiſh. A celebrated poem, juſt publiſhed, ſays,

"By virtue, captive Lee is doubly bleſt."

A pam-

A pamphlet wrote by Governor Johnſtone's brother is much applauded by the nation, where a ſpirit prevails like that between tender relations who are more diſpoſed to love and reſpect, after a quarrel has convinced both, of the advantage and value of friendſhip. I ſend you the pamphlet.

You do Sir H. Clinton great juſtice in believing him incapable of an inhuman or illiberal meaſure; you may, with great confidence, aſſert, that he had no ſhare in the havock you ſay has embittered peoples' minds to a degree of madneſs. Your letter to me is the only notice he has, of the burnings you mention. If any other houſes beſides magazines were deſtroyed, it muſt have been by the wantonneſs of ſoldiers; as the officer who formed the plan for deſtroying the preparations for the invaſion of the iſland, confined it to this object. The deſtruction of houſes was no part of his project; otherwiſe he would have mentioned the ſucceſs of it, which he has not done. I will deliver the meſſages you give me, and will ever ſeek every occaſion to ſhew that I am with regard,

Dear Sir,

Your moſt affectionate friend,

and humble Servant,

GEO. JOHNSON.

P. S. Sir Henry Clinton bids me thank you for your letter, and charges me to encloſe one he has received for you, from England.

Major Gen. Lee.

Sir, Off Charles-Town Bar, July 22, 1776.

ON my return to the fleet, I found a letter from you by a flag of truce, with ſome refreſhments you were pleaſed to ſend me, in return for which, I muſt beg your acceptance of a caſk of porter, and ſome Engliſh cheeſe.

I have made enquiries concerning the perſon mentioned in your letter, who, it ſeems, has occaſioned this correſpondence between us, but can learn nothing further about him, than that he is not a maſter of a veſſel, as he has repreſented himſelf to you; and you will have been already informed by Mr. Byrd that Ethan Allen, and thoſe that were with them, are gone to the Northward.

I am, Sir,

Your moſt humble ſervant,

H. CLINTON.

To

Charles Lee, Eſq.

Major General in the ſervice

of his Poliſh Majeſty.

My

My dear General, Williamſburg, July 12th, 1776.

Your kind concern for my health made me happy, and the high approbation you expreſs of my public conduct highly gratified my pride. I had the pleaſure of receiving your letter which did me ſo much honour, about the 9th of laſt month. I was then at Mr. Harriſon's near Peterſburg, where I had gone with Mrs. Page for the recovery of her health. Our trip happily has anſwered our wiſhes, and we are once more fixed at Williamsburg. It is now four weeks ſince we have received any certain account of the ſituation of affairs in either of the Carolinas. Even your letter to brigadier Lewis countermanding the march of the troops did not arrive here till four weeks after it was written. The regiments had juſt began their march; but had they not been ſcattered abroad on diſtant ſtations, and badly provided with neceſſaries for ſuch an expedition, they would have reached the place of their deſtination before your expreſs could have ſtopped them. It will be worth your while to examine into the occaſion of this. I thought it a matter of ſo much importance to have ſuch orders communicated with diſpatch, that I adviſed the brigadier to ſend an expreſs to you immediately, to inform you of the unaccountable delay that yours had met with, and to recommend it to you to eſtabliſh a poſt throughout your diſtrict; but he was preparing for an expe-

dition againſt Gwynn Iſland. The brigadier ſet out laſt Monday on his way to our camp, attended by the Colonels Woodford, Stephens, Buckner, Weedon, and ſome others, intending to examine into the ſtrength of the enemy, and ſubmit the propriety of an attack to a council of war. They reached the camp that night, and the next day finding that the Dunmore had changed ſtations with the other, and had expoſed herſelf very pretily to the very place where we had been preparing a battery for the Otter, they determined not to loſe this good opportunity of beginning their cannonnade, in which they might ſeverely and principally chaſtiſe the noble Earl. At eight o'clock, A. M. Captain Arundel and lieutenant Denny ſaluted the Dunmore and Otter, with two eighteen pounders; the very firſt ſhot at the Otter, though a full mile from our battery, ſtruck her, as it is ſuppoſed, between wind and water, for ſhe did not return the fire, but was towed off on the Careen. The Dunmore fired a broad ſide, and then was towed off, having received four ſhot through her ſides; whilſt ſhe was in tow, ſhe received a fifth through her ſtern which raked her, ſcarcely a ſhot was fired which did not do execution in ſome part of the fleet. A ſchooner loſt one of her maſts. Whilſt lieutenant Denny was firing on the fleet, their battery on the iſland began to play on him, and a ball paſſed through the Embrazure; on which he immediately turned his cannon on their battery; for he had

taken

taken the precaution to have ſcope enough to take in the fleet, and that part of their battery; and fired three times ſucceſſively into their Embrazure, which three rounds completely ſilenced that part of the battery; the other part facing our lines on the Haven was almoſt as ſoon ſilenced by our battery erected againſt it with four nines and three ſix pounders. Part of their camp was a little expoſed to both of our batteries which fired a few rounds into it. This fire was as well directed as that againſt their ſhips; for it beat down many of their tents, and threw their camp into the utmoſt confuſion. When this was diſcovered, the brigadier ordered canoes to be brought down, to enable the men to paſs over into the iſland; for, unhappily, we had not a boat on the ſhore: theſe could not be procured till the next day, when a ſmart cannonade began between the batteries; but as ſoon as our men had manned their boats, their fire ceaſed, and they retired with precipitation to their boats, and eſcaped ſafely to their ſhips, having firſt broken off the trunnions &c. of their cannon. There were three tenders up the haven which could not paſs our batteries; theſe they abandoned; they endeavoured to burn one, but our men boarded it, and extinguiſhed the flames. I underſtand that all theſe tenders have their ſwivels in them; but it is reported that they had thrown the guns overboard. We are now in poſſeſſion of the iſland. The fleet has retired, but is in ſight.

This might have been a compleat affair, if proper meaſures had been preconcerted, and the whole well conducted. Our men, however, behaved well, our artillery was admirably ſerved, and we have diſgraced and mortified our enemies. In this affair we loſt not a man; but moſt unhappily poor Captain Arundel was killed by the burſting of a wooden mortar, with which he was endeavouring to throw ſhells into the fleet. His loſs is irreparable. He behaved with great ſpirit and activity, and was ſo hearty in our cauſe that he is univerſally lamented. Colonel Stephens is juſt returned from Gwynn's Iſland, he ſays the enemy carried off all their cannon from their batteries, except one ſix pounder, which they ſpiked. They left ſix carriage guns in one of the tenders; ſeveral negroes and a few whites were taken; two negroes and one of the fourteenth regiment deſerted to us. The priſoners inform, that Lord Dunmore's mate was cut in two by a double headed eighteen pounder, which alſo took off one man's arm and another's leg, and drove a ſplinter into his lordſhip's leg. Tom Byrd was ill of a fever, and was carted off to a boat juſt before our people landed. They were obliged to burn two fine ſmall veſſels that day, and at night, in the mouth of the river, they burnt alſo a large ſhip, ſuppoſed to be the Dunmore, as ſhe was not with the fleet next morning. The Fowey it is ſaid, was with the fleet but did not chuſe to come within reach of our guns.

guns. The Roe-buck was at the mouth of Rappahanock. The Colonel ſays, when he came away, the whole fleet had ſailed, and were out of ſight, and it was uncertain where they they are gone; ſuppoſe to Maryland? They went off in a bad plight without biſcuit or water. Their works were found of excellent conſtruction and conſiderable extent; they were preparing to build houſes and a wind-mill: they had made a vaſt collection of materials for different works; their tents, which they moved off except one markee, which was left in their hurry, and through which a cannon ball had paſſed, were capable of containing about ſeven or eight hundred men. From many circumſtances it is evident they meant to ſtay there a conſiderable time. I have been interrupted in writing, and before I could return to my ſcrawl, I had the happineſs to receive your letter of the third of July. I moſt heartily congratulate you on your ſucceſs; it was a moſt glorious affair—a noble defence! The Britiſh navy has been happily checked in her proud career, and has received a moſt juſt and compleat chaſtiſement. What muſt the king think now? The whole continent in arms againſt him, ſeven hundred and fifty of his favourite highlanders, in our poſſeſſion, and his fleets repulſed and diſgraced along our coaſts for two thouſand miles! I hope he will repent and be contented to put up with the loſs of America, or, if he does not, that he may meet with repeated

diſ-

diſappointment. The Marylanders were rouſed by the reſolve of our Convention, and have lectured their repreſentatives ſo well, that they have unanimouſly voted for independence—they have no occaſion for our rifle men on that account: However I can aſſure you, on the Eaſtern ſhore of Maryland there has been a conſiderable inſurrection of Tories, inſomuch that Colonel Fleming has been obliged to march with a hundred and twenty men to quell them. We have not yet heard the event of that affair. I have juſt now received another letter from you, and am delighted with your deſcription of the bravery of Colonel Moultrie and the garriſon of Fort Sullivan. It is not flattery, my dear General, when I tell you, that moſt of us here attribute the glorious diſplay of bravery on that day, to the animating preſence of a commander, who, independent of his great military abilities and experience, appeared to be the evil genius of Clinton, who had followed him, and from whoſe preſence he had ſeemed to retire and retreat along the coaſt, from Boſton to Charles Town. All that I could do, as there were not gentlemen enough in town, to make a council, was to deſire brigadier Lewis to ſend immediately to North Carolina, all the powder that could be ſpared out of the magazine. About four thouſand pounds will be ſent.

I am moſt ſincerely yours,

JOHN PAGE.

Major Gen. Lee.

DEAR GENERAL, Philadelphia, July 23d, 1776.

IT would take a volume to tell you how many clever things were ſaid of you, and the brave troops under your command, after hearing of your late victory. It has given a wonderful turn to our affairs. The loſs of Canada had ſtruck the ſpirits of many people, who now begin to think our cauſe is not abandoned, and that we ſhall yet triumph over our enemies.

The declaration of independence has produced a new æra in this part of America. The militia of Pennſylvania ſeem to be actuated with a ſpirit more than Roman. Near two thouſand citizens of Philadelphia have lately marched towards New-York, in order to prevent an incurſion being made by our enemies upon the ſtate of New-Jerſey. The cry of them all *is for battle.* I think Mr. Howe will not be able to get a footing in New-York, and that he will end the preſent, or begin the next campaign in Canada, or in ſome one of the Southern colonies. The only places in which America is vulnerable. We depend upon Gates in the North, and *you* oblige us to hope for great things from the South.

The Tories quiet, but very ſurly. Lord Howe's proclamation leaves them not a ſingle filament of their cobweb doctrine of reconciliation.

The ſpirit of liberty reigns triumphant in Pennſylvania. The proprietary gentry have retired to their

their country ſeats, and honeſt men have taken the ſeats they abuſed ſo much in the government of our ſtate.

The papers will inform you, that I have been thruſt into Congreſs. I find there is a great deal of difference between ſporting a ſentiment in a letter, or over a glaſs of wine upon politics, and diſcharging properly the duty of a ſenator. I feel myſelf unequal to every part of my new ſituation, except where plain integrity is required.

My former letters to you, may paſs hereafter for a leaf of the Sibyls. They are full of predictions; and, what is ſtill more uncommon, ſome of them have proved true. I ſhall go on, and add, that I think the declaration of independence will produce union and new exertions in England in the ſame ratio that they have done in this country. The preſent campaign, I believe, is only deſigned to train us for the duties of next ſummer.

Adieu,

Yours ſincerely,

An OLD FRIEND.

Major Gen. Lee.

My dear Lee, New-York, Auguſt 12th, 1776.

NOTWITHSTANDING I ſhall probably feel the effect, I do moſt cordially and ſincerely congra-

gratulate you on *your* victory over Clinton and the Britiſh ſquadron at Sullivan's Iſland. A victory undoubtedly it is, when an enemy are drubbed, and driven from a country they were ſent to conquer. Such is the caſe of Clinton and Sir Peter Parker, who are now with the fleet and army at Staten Iſland, where General Howe and the troops from Hallifax have been ever ſince the laſt day of June, and Lord Howe ſince the twelfth of July. Some Heſſians and a pretty many of the Scottiſh laddies have got in, and the reſidue of the fleet parted with, off the banks of Newfoundland, hourly expected. When the whole arrive, matters will ſoon come to a deciſion, every thing being prepared on both ſides for the appeal, and, on ours, I hope it will be obſtinate, if not ſucceſsful.

The latter, it is not in the power of mortals to command; but they may endeavour to deſerve it; and this I am perſuaded, our troops will more than ever aim at, as I have impreſſed upon their minds the gallant behaviour of the brave few, who defended Sullivan's Iſland.

At preſent, the enemy can bring more men to a point than we can, and when reinforced by the Heſſians without number, as unleſs the militia (faſter than heretofore) come into our aid, their numbers, when the Heſſians arrive, cannot, by the beſt intelligence we can get, fall ſhort of twenty-five thouſand men. Ours are under twenty, very ſickly,

ly, and poſted on Governor's Iſland, Long Iſland, at Howlis Hook, Horn's Hook, and at the paſs near King's Bridge; more militia are expected, but whether they will be in time, time only can tell, as alſo where the point of attack will be. An opinion prevails, countenanced by hints from ſome of the principle Tories, and corroborated by intelligence from Staten Iſland, that part of the enemy's fleet and army will go into the Sound, whilſt another part of it, runs up the North River, thereby cutting off all communication by water with this place, whilſt their troops form a chain acroſs the neck, and ſtop an intercourſe with Connecticut by land: others think, they will not leave an army in their rear, whilſt they have the country in their front, getting by that means between two fires, unleſs it is extended as a feint to withdraw our troops from the city, that they may ſlip in and poſſeſs themſelves of it: all this is but a field of conjecture.

Our affairs in the North have been growing from bad to worſe, till I hope they will mend, as one great ſource of the evil is in a way of being removed, I mean, the ſmall pox; but the army have retreated from place to place, till they are now got to Ticonderoga, oppoſite to which, on the Eaſt ſide of the Lake Champlain, they are about to eſtabliſh a poſt, which they ſay will be invulnerable; but whether it may not be ſomewhat like the man

who

who built a mill on account of a beautiful fall, and then had to conſider whether it was practicable to bring water to it, remains in ſome meaſure to be determined, as it is the opinion of ſome, (I know nothing of the country myſelf,) that the enemy may paſs this poſt and get into Lake George, without receiving the leaſt annoyance from this work. Whether they would chuſe to leave a poſt in their rear without eſtabliſhing one themſelves, ſufficient to keep it in awe, is the point in queſtion.

It gives me a very ſingular pleaſure to hear of the gallant behaviour of your young aids, and Mr. Jenefer, as alſo of Colonels Moultrie and Thompſon, to be the means at any time, of rewarding merit, will add greatly to my happineſs; and whenever you can point out a mode that can be adopted conſiſtently, you ſhall find me very ready: but you know the temper of the troops in this quarter, as well as I do, and how impracticable it is to bring in a perſon, let his merit be ever ſo great, without throwing a whole corps into confuſion. This will alſo apply to Captain Bullet. What vacancies there may be in your department that he has his eye to, and could be appointed to with propriety, you muſt know better than I. That there is none here, I can undertake to ſay. I have no doubt but the Congreſs would annex the rank of colonel to his office of adjutant. I believe they have done it in the inſtance of Griffin, who is appointed deputy adjutant to the flying camp. If this would add any thing to his ſatisfaction, I ſhould

have no objection to the mention of it. With every wiſh for your proſperity and ſucceſs, I remain with ſincere regard,

Your moſt affectionate and obedient,

G. WASHINGTON.

Gen. Lee.

General Green's Quarters, Nov. 16th, 1776.

DEAR SIR,

YOU will ſee by the incloſed Reſolves, that Congreſs have entered into ſome new regulations reſpecting the enliſtment of the new army, and reprobating the meaſures adopted by the ſtate of Maſſachuſet's Bay for raiſing their quota of men.

As every poſſible exertion ſhould be uſed for recruiting the army, as ſpeedily as may be, I requeſt that you immediately publiſh, in orders, that an allowance of a dollar and one-third of a dollar will be paid to the officers for every ſoldier they ſhall enliſt, whether in or out of camp.

Alſo, that it will be optional in the ſoldier to enliſt during the continuance of the war, or for three years, unleſs ſooner diſcharged by Congreſs. In the former caſe, they are to receive all ſuch bounty and pay as have been heretofore mentioned

in

in orders; thoſe who engage for the latter time, that of three years, are not to receive the bounty in land.

That no miſtakes may be made, you will direct the recruiting officers, from your diviſion, to provide two diſtinct enliſting rolls; one for thoſe to ſign who engage during the war, the other for thoſe who enliſt for three years, if their ſervice ſhall be ſo long required.

I am ſorry to inform you, that this day about twelve o'clock, the enemy made a general attack upon our lines about Fort Waſhington, which, having carried, the garriſon retired within the fort. Colonel Magaw finding there was no proſpect of retreating a-croſs the North River, ſurrendered the poſt. We do not yet know the loſs of killed and wounded on either ſide; but I imagine it muſt have been pretty conſiderable, as the engagement, at ſome parts of the lines, was of long continuance, and heavy: neither do I know the terms of capitulation. The force of the garriſon, before the attack, was about two thouſand men.

Before I left Peck's-hill, I urged to General Heath, the neceſſity of ſecuring the paſs through the Highlands next to the river, as well on that as this ſide, and to the forts above; but as the preſerving of theſe and others which lay more eaſterly, and which are equally eſſential, is a matter of the laſt importance, I muſt beg you to turn

your attention that way, and to have ſuch meaſures adopted for their defence as your judgment ſhall ſuggeſt to be neceſſary. I do not mean to adviſe abandoning your preſent poſt contrary to your own opinion, but only to mention my ideas of the importance of thoſe paſſes, and that you cannot give too much attention to their ſecurity, by having works erected in the moſt advantageous places for that purpoſe.

I am, dear Sir,

Your moſt obedient ſervant,

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

Gen. Lee.

THE RESOLVES OF CONGRESS MENTIONED IN THE PRECEDING LETTER.

In CONGRESS Nov. 7th, 1776.

RESOLVED, That the reſolution paſſed the 14th of October laſt, That the allowance to officers of one and one-third of a dollar for enliſting ſoldiers, be not extended or given on the re-enliſtment of the ſoldiers in camp, be repealed.

Nov.

Nov. 12th, 1776.

RESOLVED, As the opinion of this Congreſs, that if the ſoldiers to be raiſed by the ſtate of Maſſachuſet's Bay, be enliſted on the terms offered to them, (which are more advantageous than what are offered to other ſoldiers ſerving in the ſame army,) it would much retard, if not totally impede, the enliſtment of the latter, and produce diſcontent and murmur, unleſs Congreſs ſhould equally increaſe the pay of theſe; which it is the opinion of this Congreſs would univerſally be reprobated as an immoderate expence, and complained of, as a grievous burden, by thoſe who muſt bear it; and therefore, that the committee from the ſtate of Maſſachuſet's Bay, be deſired not to enliſt their men on the additional pay offered by the Aſſembly of that ſtate.

Upon reconſidering the Reſolution of the 16th of September laſt, for raiſing eighty-eight battalions, to ſerve during the preſent war with Great Britain, Congreſs being of opinion, that the readineſs of the inhabitants of the ſtates to enter into the ſervice for limited times, in defence of their invaluable privileges, on all former occaſions, gives good ground to hope the ſame zeal for the public good will appear in future when neceſſity calls for their aſſiſtance; and the uncertain length of time which forces raiſed during

the continuance of the war may be compelled to ſerve, may prevent many from enliſting who would otherwiſe readily manifeſt their attachment to the common cauſe, by engaging for a limited time, therefore,

RESOLVED, That all non-commiſſion officers and ſoldiers, who do not incline to engage their ſervices during the continuance of the preſent war, and ſhall enliſt to ſerve three years, unleſs ſooner diſcharged by Congreſs, ſhall be entitled to, and receive, all ſuch bounty and pay as are allowed to thoſe who enliſt during the continuance of the preſent war, except the one hundred acres of land, which is to be granted to thoſe only who enliſt without limitation of time.

And each recruiting officer is required to provide two diſtinct enliſting rolls; one for ſuch to ſign who enliſt during the continuance of the war, and the other for ſuch as enliſt for three years, if their ſervice ſhall be ſo long required.

By order of the Congreſs.

JOHN HANCOCK, Preſ.

COPY.

ROBERT HARRISON.

DEAR

DEAR GENERAL, Hackenſack, Nov. 21ſt, 1776.

THE letter you will receive with this contains my ſentiments with reſpect to your preſent ſtation; but beſides this, I have ſome additional reaſons for moſt earneſtly wiſhing to have you where the principal ſcene of action is laid. I do not mean to flatter nor praiſe you at the expence of any other, but, I confeſs, I do think that it is entirely owing to you, that this army and the liberties of America, ſo far as they are dependent on it, are not totally cut off. You have deciſion, a quality often wanting in minds otherwiſe valuable; and I aſcribe to this our eſcape from York-Iſland, from King's Bridge, and the Plains; and I have no doubt, had you been here, the garriſon of Mount Waſhington would now have compoſed a part of this army: and from all theſe circumſtances, I confeſs I ardently wiſh to ſee you removed from a place where I think there will be little call for your judgment and experience, to the place where they are likely to be ſo neceſſary. Nor am I ſingular in my opinion, every gentleman of the family, the officers, and ſoldiers, generally, have a confidence in you: the enemy conſtantly enquire where you are, and ſeem to me to be leſs confident when you are preſent.

Colonel Cadwallader, through a ſpecial indul-

gence, on account of ſome civilities ſhewn by his family to General Preſcot, has been liberated from New-York without any parole. He informs, that the enemy have a ſouthern expedition in view; that they hold us very cheap in conſequence of the late affair at Mount Waſhington, where both the plan of defence and execution were contemptible. If a real defence of the lines was intended, the number was too few; if the Fort only, the garriſon was too numerous by half. General Waſhington's own judgment, ſeconded by repreſentations from us, would, I believe, have ſaved the men and their arms; but, unluckily, General Green's judgment was contrary. This kept the General's mind in a ſtate of ſuſpence till the ſtroke was ſtruck. Oh, General! an indeciſive mind is one of the greateſt misfortunes that can befal an army: how often have I lamented it this campaign!

All circumſtances conſidered, we are in a very awful, alarming ſtate, one that requires the utmoſt wiſdom and firmneſs of mind.

As ſoon as the ſeaſon will admit, I think yourſelf and ſome others ſhould go to Congreſs, and form the plan of the new army, point out their defects to them, and, if poſſible, prevail on them to bind their whole attention to this great object, even to the excluſion of every other. If they will not, or cannot, do this, I fear all our exertions

will

will be vain in this part of the world. Foreign aſſiſtance is ſolliciting, but we cannot expect they will fight the whole battle.

I intended to have ſaid more, but the expreſs is waiting, and I muſt conclude with my clear and explicit opinion, that your preſence is of the laſt importance.

I am, with much affection and regard,

Your very affectionate,

Humble ſervant,

JOSEPH REED, Adjut. Gen.

Major Gen. Lee,
at the White Plains.

My dear General, Philadelphia, Aug. 30th, 1778.

I AM ſhocked, confounded, and exceedingly chagrined to hear the court have adjudged you guilty of all the charges alledged againſt you, and have ſuſpended you one year on account of it. The ſentence is as unaccountable to me, as that they ſhould find you guilty.

Matters have been ſo curſedly repreſented againſt

you in this place, that I have been almoſt mobbed in defending you. Ten thouſand infamous lies have been ſpread, that I never heard before, to bias the friends of the people againſt you. In the name of God, what are we come to?—So much for our republicaniſm.

I am beyond deſcription unhappy, I feel for the injury of a man I ſo ſincerely eſteem—a man whoſe merit is ſo conſpicuous throughout the world; and more particularly for a man, who, if juſtice was to take place, and facts properly known, merited the thanks of the continent, for the tranſactions of that day, in a moſt ſingular manner.

I have not been able to ſee Mr. Lee; I called twice, but he was not at home; to-morrow morning I ſhall have the pleaſure, I expect, as I intend to call again. General Miflin will be in town to-morrow, whom I ſhall likewiſe viſit.

My ſincere affection you will ever command, and I ſhall never eſteem myſelf ſo happy as when I can have it in my power to render you a ſervice.

I will, in two or three days, ſet out for camp, in order to have an interview with you.

I am, dear General,

Yours affectionately,

* * * *.

Major Gen. Lee.

SIR,

SIR, Brunſwick, Jan. 16th, 1779.

I AM honoured with your favour of the 18th ult. and can aſſure you, that of the merit or demerit of your conduct in the affair of Monmouth, on the 28th of June, I have not to this day framed any opinion. I have ſo little leiſure to attend to the military operations of America, and am ſo incompetent a judge of the qualifications neceſſary to conſtitute the character of a general, that I make no judgment at all. But without admitting or denying that you have made greater ſacrifices in the cauſe of American freedom than any officer of our whole army, without a ſingle exception, and that it is not leſs certain that you have ſaved our whole army more than once from deſtruction, (the proofs of which are not in my poſſeſſion,) I can aſſure you, that I heartily diſapprove of all publications containing perſonal reflections on the character of any gentleman, and eſpecially on thoſe of your rank, in the American army. And if what was preſented to the public, as a mere republication of a paper formerly printed by a Virginian, has been, as you ſay, republiſhed with many malicious alterations and additions, it is ſtill the more inexcuſable; becauſe all ſuch alterations and additions, beſides their particular malignity againſt you, (for which alone I ſhould condemn them,) are an impoſition upon

upon the world; and it muſt be conſidered, by every man of honour, be the legal conſtruction what it will, as a downright forgery. I can further aſſure you, that I cannot but diſapprove of Mr. Collins's inſerting the paper you refer to in his Gazette, not only becauſe no printer ought to make his preſs a vehicle for perſonal ſlander, but becauſe he ſet out with a profeſſed declaration againſt diverting his paper to ſuch purpoſes, and has ſo tenaciouſly adhered to that maxim till the publication in queſtion, as to reject, if my information be true, ſeveral pieces on account of the perſonal reflections they contained on gentlemen in the ſervice of the enemy, and which the law of retaliation would clearly have warranted him to inſert. And I muſt declare, in juſtice to him, and from what I perſonally know of his humane diſpoſition, and his diſinclination to convey through the channel of his preſs any thing injurious to the reputation of others, that I firmly believe, he has taken the paper, preſented to him as a copy of a publication in Virginia, for a true copy. And it is generally ſuppoſed, by virtue of what law I know not, but perhaps by one as rational as that of deciding controverſies by private combat, in civil communities which reprobate that mode of deciſion, that a printer, by the bare republication of a paper, is not preſumed to adopt the ſentiments; and that, by diſcloſing to the party aggrieved, at whoſe inſtance it was republiſhed, he always

always averts the indignation of the ſufferer from himſelf to that perſon. I ſhould, however, be very ſorry to find any of our printers imitate the practice of the Britiſh ſubjects in New-York, who, whether they excel us in military diſcipline and courage or not, have, to my certain knowledge, hitherto ſurpaſſed us in printed calumny and detraction.

From theſe my ſentiments reſpecting the printers of defamatory papers, I hope, Sir, you will not queſtion my diſapprobation both of the original authors, and the ſecondary propagators, of ſlander. But neither Mr. Boudinot's appointment to, nor depoſition from, his office, as commiſſary of our ſtate priſoners, being in my department, it is not in my power to do you the juſtice which you ſeem to expect in that line; nor is there any authority in this ſtate by which he can be caſhiered, till the next meeting of our aſſembly, which ſtands adjourned to the 19th of May. But the law of the ſtate is always at every one's ſervice; and, in the caſe of libels, if we are to credit the Britiſh lawyers, ſo peculiarly favourable to the proſecutor, that the ſcandal is not the leſs penal for being true, than if it was utterly falſe; which, I think, is giving a man as great a chance as can reaſonably be deſired; and, perhaps, if you thought proper to publiſh your letter to me on the ſubject under conſideration, it would be as ample ſatisfaction againſt Mr. Boudinot, as the nature of the offence requires;

requires; but that I entirely ſubmit to your better judgment. In a word, Sir, whenever it ſhall be pointed out to me in what manner I can, with any propriety, interfere in the matter, either as governor of this ſtate, or as a private gentleman, I ſhall not heſitate a moment to do you all the juſtice which I conceive you deſerve. In the mean time, I embrace this opportunity to re-acknowledge my grateful ſenſe of your friendly intimations, ſome time ſince, of the enemy's peculiar reſentment againſt me, and your kind concern for my perſonal ſafety upon that account. I muſt, however, take the liberty to ſay, as a man detached from all parties, and wholly devoted to what he thinks the true intereſts of his country, that I ſhould be extremely unhappy in having reaſon to believe what is frequently, and perhaps injuriouſly, reported of you, that you endeavoured to leſſen the eſtimation in which General Waſhington is held by the moſt virtuous citizens of America; and which eſtimation, not, Sir, from a blind attachment to men of high rank, nor from any ſelf-intereſted motive whatſoever, but from a full conviction of his great perſonal merit and public importance, I deem it my duty to my country to uſe my utmoſt influence to ſupport.

I am, with all due reſpect,

Sir,

Your moſt humble ſervant,

Major Gen. Lee. W. LIVINGSTON.

My

My dear Friend, Philadelphia, Oct. 24, 1779.

I AM diſtreſſed to think that all your friendly letters and meſſages to me have met with ſuch ungrateful returns. I have written two letters to you, one of which was incloſed under a cover, directed to Mr. Wolford, and put into the Poſt-Office; the other was miſlaid and loſt before I could hear of an opportunity of ſending it. You ſee from this, that I have not been unmindful of you. You have wounded me in ſuppoſing that I am carried away by the tide of the times. I would as ſoon be ſuſpected of picking a pocket, as of infidelity in friendſhip, or idolatry in politics.

Major Euſtace informed me of your reply to Preſident Reed's publications. Our printers refuſed to give it a place in their papers: it was beſt for *you* they did ſo. Have patience; time and poſterity will do you juſtice. The ſummer flies that now din our ears muſt ſoon retire. Nothing but virtue and real abilities will finally paſs muſter, when the public cool a little from the ferment into which the great and ſudden events of the late revolution have thrown us. I would rather be one of your dogs in a future hiſtory of the preſent war, than poſſeſs the firſt honours that are now current in America, with the characters which I know ſome of our great men merit. Poor Pennſylvania has become the moſt miſerable ſpot upon the ſur-

face of the globe. Our ſtreets, alas! have been ſtained already with fraternal blood; a ſad prelude, we fear, of the future miſchiefs our conſtitution will bring upon us; they call it a democracy, a mobocracy in my opinion would be more proper. All our laws breathe the ſpirit of town meetings and porter ſhops: but I forget that I am not ſafe in communicating my opinion of men and meaſures to paper. Oh, Liberty! Liberty! I have worſhipped thee as a ſubſtance!—But—it is near twelve o'clock at night, and I am much fatigued with an unuſual ſhare of buſineſs; for, in the true ſtile of the ſubject of a monarch, my family and my buſineſs now engroſs all my time and attention—my country I have long ago left to the care of Timothy Matlock, Charles Wilſon Peale, and Co. I muſt therefore bid you good night, wiſhing you at the ſame time all poſſible health and happineſs, and am, my dear Lee,

Your ſincere and affectionate

OLD FRIEND.

Major Gen. Lee.

My dear Lee, York-town, Oct. 21ſt, 1781.

THERE are few circumſtances that give me equal pleaſure to that of hearing from my friends; and,

and, as my eſteem for you has ever encreaſed in proportion to your misfortunes in the road of perſecution, I am always made happy in a line from you, as it announces your preſent ſituation.

Your being robbed of your horſes is a common evil, and its falling harder on you than any other perſon is what I ſhould have expected, from the diſpoſition of wretches always diſpoſed to heap coals on the head of the injured. I am happy ever in having it in my power to inform you of the good eſteem in which you are held in the army; and that they are not now, whatever they have been, inclined to purſue the track of perſecution, beaten ſo bare as it is by creatures whoſe praiſe would be a diſhonour to any honeſt man.

Poor Fleury, the other day, called me a-one-ſide to whiſper to me, and after looking round, to prevent a poſſibility of being over-heard, he aſked me what had become of you? I could not help ſmiling, and, in my reply, telling him you was very well, and that he need not be afraid of acknowledging an acquaintance with General Lee in the moſt public aſſembly in America; that I eſteemed it an honour to call myſelf his friend; that my ſincere attachment to him was amply rewarded by the univerſal approbation of all good and ſenſible men. He anſwered me, he was very glad of it: it was every where known in France that you had been ill-treated, and that every perſon lamented your misfortune.

The

The ſurrender of Lord Cornwallis and his army will reach you before this letter. I think this is a circumſtance which muſt ſecure to America her independence. What will follow, I leave to time. It muſt have been a mortifying circumſtance to my lord, to have ſollicited terms, as no demand of a ſurrender was made. We had juſt completed our ſecond parallel, at two hundred yards from his main works. In the capitulation he was not permitted to uncaſe his colours, or to beat an American or French march. You will probably ſee your friend O'Hara, who is a priſoner.

We expect now to go on to Charles Town, to inveſt that place. The moment I can obtain permiſſion to leave the army, I will repair to your hermitage, and ſpend ſome time with you, when I promiſe myſelf much ſatisfaction. In the mean while, believe me,

Your affectionate and
Unalterable friend,
E. EDWARDS.

Oct. 21ſt, 1781.

LETTERS

LETTERS

FROM

MAJOR GENERAL LEE.

London, Dec. 1ſt, 1766.

MOST EXCELLENT SIR, AND MOST DEAR MASTER,

YOUR Majeſty will better imagine, than I can expreſs the pleaſure I have received from your kind and gracious letter: the aſſurances it gives me of your good opinion and regard, I ſhall ever conſider as the happieſt, the moſt honourable circumſtance of my life. They make ample amends for the enmities I have drawn upon myſelf from certain powerful quarters in my own country, where, perhaps, from ſome juſt judgment of God, the ſame qualities which would recommend to your Majeſty are highly obnoxious. I devoutly wiſh, and proudly hope, for my own

honour, that I may ever poſſeſs a place in the eſteem of your Majeſty, and remain the averſion of thoſe who ſo widely, ſo totally, differ from you.

I am concerned I cannot more fully, and in a more ſatisfactory manner, anſwer the ſeveral queſtions of your Majeſty on the ſtate of our country, than what I am able to do. Of ſome of theſe articles, the cauſe, though generally treated of, appears not in the leaſt underſtood; on others, opinions are ſo various that it is preſumption to decide; but ſome are, I think, obvious to every man of common underſtanding; and of this claſs may be reckoned Mr. Pitt's quitting the ſtage, and the conduct of the American colonies towards the mother country. With reſpect to the firſt, it is manifeſt, from a thouſand circumſtances, that with the health and frame of this extraordinary man, the underſtanding is likewiſe worn out. Before I came to England, I did not lay much ſtreſs on thoſe parts of his conduct which the newſpapers have ſo worried; and I recollect your Majeſty was of the ſame way of thinking, that there was nothing very monſtrous in his acceptance of a peerage, but that it might be imprudent, and argued a ſenſeleſſneſs of glory, to forfeit the name of Pitt for any title the king could beſtow. But ſince I am a little more behind the ſcenes, and am made acquinted with ſeveral circumſtances previous, concomitant, and ſubſequent to this event, I am apt to agree with the majority of the

better

better ſort, that this once noble-mind is quite overthrown. Can it be reconciled to reaſon, that the ſame man who had rendered his name ſo illuſtrious and ſo tremendous to the greateſt part of the globe, ſhould ſplit upon ribbons and titles; that when he had arrived at a higher pinnacle of glory than ever citizen did ſince the days of Epaminondas, he ſhould be captivated by ſuch a bauble, even though it ſhould be attended with no ill conſequences to the affairs of his country? but when ſuch terrible ones were viſible, it muſt be conſtrued downright madneſs. Mr. Pitt, ſay they, was the only man who had capacity, ſpirit, and power to aſſert the honour and intereſt of the nation with foreign ſtates, correct the abuſes, and ſtem the torrent of corruption at home. His power was not founded on vaſt property or cabinet favour, but on his popularity. By ſinking into a peerage, his popularity would vaniſh of courſe, and with it all power of rendering, at a moſt critical time, any farther ſervices to his country. If it is objected that it is poſſible to accept a title and retain the integrity of the citizen, they allow it; but that, unfortunately, the bulk of the people will not be perſuaded of it; that a popular miniſter muſt, therefore, not only be ſtrictly virtuous, but, like Cæſar's wife, his virtue muſt not be ſuſpected; that this perſuaſion of the people, ridiculous as it may appear at firſt ſight, is founded on two much juſtice; for

they obſerve, that, from the time of Wentworth down to that of Pulteney, not one inſtance can be produced of a man's changing his ſeat from the lower to the upper houſe, without a thorough renunciation of all principles and public virtue; but whether this opinion is well or ill founded, as it is a prevalent one, this revolt, error, folly, or madneſs, of ſuch a man has ſome direful effects; it taints with jealouſy all public affiance, eſtabliſhes a doubt, whether ſuch a thing as public virtue can exiſt: in ſhort, it makes the bulk of mankind indifferent who are in, who are out, as they are almoſt perſuaded that all men are, or will prove, in the end, equally vain, apoſtates to the common cauſe, either through intereſtedneſs, vanity, or madneſs.

Such are the arguments not only made uſe of by the majority of Mr. Pitt's once admirers, but they were ſtated to him by thoſe who were ſuppoſed to have the greateſt weight with him. Lord Camden, in particular, concluding this reſolution to be a ſhort fit of compliance, and that his friend would ſoon ſee the danger of the meaſure, delayed the ſigning of the patent for two days. But his lordſhip was miſtaken, the diſorder had taken deeper root than he imagined; no girl could ſhew more impatience for a new toy, than this firſt of men did, till the teſtimony of his folly was ſigned and ſealed to the whole world. Your Majeſty will probably object, that though Mr. Pitt played the

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child in one article, it is no proof of the general failure of his underſtanding; that no man was ever bleſſed with ſo entire faculties, as not, on ſome particular occaſion, and in ſome unlucky moment, to betray weakneſs. But this is not the caſe with Pitt, the decay of his parts is not only indicated by the act itſelf, but confirmed by his conduct in public and private character: In public the doctrines he broaches are diametrically the reverſe of what he has, through the whole courſe of his life, aſſerted: In private, he is totally metamorphoſed; from the extreme of plainneſs and ſimplicity, he is all parade, magnificence and oſtentation. But I might have ſpared your Majeſty this prolix detail, when in few words, it would have ſufficed to have ſaid, that he has fits of crying, ſtarting, and every effect of hyſteric; it is affirmed, indeed, that ten years ago, he was in the very ſame condition, that therefore a poſſibility of his recovering once more his nerves, and with them all his functions; but from the age of the man, the generality conſider the piece as finiſhed; the honeſt and well-wiſhers of their country lament over him, the corrupt and profligate ſing *Te Deum*, as the Devil probably did for the fall of man. Your Majeſty aſks who is to mount the ſtage in his room? I am ſo far from ſeeing any man ſo qualified in all points, as to fill his part in time of diſtraction and confuſion, that I know no ſet of men who have a chance of being called to it, who will

not by ignorance, obſtinacy, or timidity, throw things into ten times greater confuſion than they are at preſent. My Lord Rockingham is indeed an honeſt, worthy, and ſpirited man, and poſſeſſes the good opinion of the people in general, but theſe attributes will probably exclude him. The Thane who is ſtill all-powerful, will never admit of a man ſo endowed. He requires a certain degree of ſubſerviency and complaiſance; in ſhort, he requires a miniſter of his own jobs and partialities, and not an adminiſtrator of the national affairs. As to the reſt who form what is called the oppoſition, they are ſo odious, or contemptible, that the favourite himſelf is preferable to them; ſuch as Grenville, Bedford, Newcaſtle, and their aſſociates. Temple is one of the moſt ridiculous order of coxcombs I ever heard of, he is eternally appealing to the public, forgetting that the public never conſidered him farther than they would an old pair of boots, which Mr. Pitt might, through whim, have ſet a value upon, which when he choſe to throw aſide, it mattered not if they were thrown into a lumber room or the fire. Nothing could make the American coloniſts caſt off their obedience, or even reſpect to their mother country, but ſome attempt on the eſſence of their liberty; ſuch as undoubtedly the ſtamp act was, which, if it had remained unrepealed, and admitted as a precedent, they would have been ſlaves to all intents and purpoſes, as their whole property

would lye at the mercy of the Crown's miniſter and the miniſter's miniſters, the Houſe of Commons, who would find no end to the neceſſity of taxing theſe people, as every additional tax would furniſh the maſter with means of adding to their reſpective wages; but it would be impertinent in me to enter into a diſcuſſion of the propriety or impropriety, the juſtice or injuſtice, of this meaſure, when it is ſo fully and clearly treated in ſome tracts which are bound up together, and which I have ordered to be ſent to your Majeſty. If the humours which this accurſed attempt has raiſed, are ſuffered to ſubſide, the inherent affection which the colonies have for their mother country, and claſhings of intereſts one amongſt another, will throw every thing back into the old channel; which indeed is the caſe already: but if another attack of the ſame nature ſhould be made upon them, by a wicked blundering miniſter, I will venture to prophecy, that this country will be ſhaken to its foundation in its wealth, credit, naval force, and interior population.

My dear Prince. London, Dec. 25th, 1766.

YOU will do me great injuſtice if you attribute my ſilence for ſo many months to a want of ſenſe

of your exceſſive goodneſs and friendſhip, or even to careleſsneſs, which, conſidering the obligations I lye under to your highneſs, would be one and the ſame thing. The truth is, that I was unwilling to trouble you with a fulſome letter of acknowledgements, as I hope you are no ſtranger to my ſentiments on the ſubject; but I thought a few lines which would give you a ſketch of the ſtate of this country, of the parties, and of our proſpect in relation to foreign and interior affairs, would be the only poſſible method of making your Highneſs ſome return for the thouſand inſtances of friendſhip which I have received at your hands; but the moſt reaſonable ſchemes are frequently defeated: ſo it fares with me; for, although I have been in London eight days, which, in this political and communicative town is ſufficient, one ſhould think, to make a man maſter of every thing neceſſary to be known; but my evil ſtars have diſappointed me, and your evil ſtars have dictated to me, that, notwithſtanding the inſignificancy of all I have to ſay, it would be a petty treaſon to remain any longer ſilent. You muſt therefore accept the will for the deed; in a few poſts I hope to be able to amuſe you better. The King and his miniſters are out of town, or more properly, I ſhould have ſaid the miniſters and their King, for I do not find that the latter is any more a principal than when I left England. Lord Chatham is ſuppoſed to be abſolute in all affairs which concern the ſtate; Bute in

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his corner, retains influence to a ſufficient degree, for the proviſion of his creatures and countrymen, in ſubordinate offices; he diſclaims all concern with buſineſs; but this is like the reſt of his conduct, a moſt impudent and ineffectual hypocricy; for he is, as uſual, not credited. A formidable oppoſition is expected, but the conjectures on its ſucceſs are too vague to be attended to. Some men of weight and reputation are embarked in it; but the heads are too odious to the nation in general in my opinion, to carry their point. Such as Bedford, Sandwich, G. Grenville, and, with ſubmiſſion, your friend Mansfield. He lately drew upon himſelf the laugh of the Houſe of Lords, making uſe of the word Liberty of the Subject; and expreſſing great regard to it, it was called Satan preaching up ſanctity. Conway is ſtill ſecretary of ſtate, and much regarded as a man of ability and integrity. Lord Shelburne, the other ſecretary, has ſurpaſſed the opinion of the world; he ſpeaks well, and is very diſtinct in office. The Duke of Grafton is an abſolute orator, and has a fair character. An Iriſhman, one Mr. Burke, is ſprung up in the Houſe of Commons, who has aſtoniſhed every body with the power of his eloquence, his comprehenſive knowledge in all our exterior and internal politics and commercial intereſts. He wants nothing but that ſort of dignity annexed to rank, and property in England,

to

to make him the moſt conſiderable man in the Lower Houſe.

A diſpute with Portugal, on ſome commercial points, ſeems at preſent chiefly to occupy the thoughts of the miniſtry. It is thought, that an embaſſador extraordinary, with an eſcort of ten ſhips of war, which is the beſt *ultima ratio*, will be ſent to Liſbon. I have had ſome converſation with our miniſtry on the affairs of Poland; but as this letter goes by the common poſt, I cannot ſend you the particulars. The character of his Majeſty is high in their eſteem. I intreat your Highneſs to preſent my duty to him, to aſſure him of my zeal, veneration, and love; in a few days, I ſhall take the liberty of writing to him, or to Mr. Ogroudſki. I wait till I have had a converſation with the King. Could your Highneſs procure me a copy of his Majeſty's picture, either in miniature, or otherwiſe; I aſk for a copy, as I would not preſume to trouble him to ſit. You would likewiſe make me very happy with your own. I was much pleaſed with an acquaintance with Laviſa at the Hague. His warm attachment to our incomparable maſter has much endeared him to me. We have ſome books publiſhed here, which I fancy you would be glad to have, particularly, the whole letters of Swift. They are the beſt hiſtory of thoſe times, and read with great avidity. When the Baltic is open, I ſhall ſend to his

Majeſty

Majeſty a conſiderable number, as he has done me the honour to truſt to my judgement, and drawn on Mr. Tipper for the coſt.

I have not heard from our friend Lind; I beg you will chide him for this abominable neglect. Wroughton too deſerves abuſe; I ſhall write to him in a few poſts. The reaſon of Lord Thanet's delay in regard to the horſe, was delicacy. He could not find any he thought good enough; but in the ſpring he will ſend a couple, which will, in all reſpects, ſuit his Majeſty.

I entreat you, my dear prince, to pay my humble reſpects to your father, mother, the prince, chancellor, and all your houſe, to which I have ſo great obligations, and for which I have a ſincere love and honour, and that you will ſteal a few moments to give me under your hand what I am already convinced of, that I poſſeſs ſome ſhare of your love and friendſhip.

I am, with the moſt reſpectful ſentiments,

My dear Prince,

Ever yours,

CHARLES LEE.

My dear Coleman, Warſaw, May 1ſt, 1767.

YOU muſt undoubtedly think me a very extraordinary perſon, that, on a ſlender acquaintance, I ſhould have ſaddled you with the curation of my affairs, and afterwards not think it worth my while to write you even a civil note, ſuch as a common acquaintance, who had conferred no obligation, might have expected. The truth is, I have every day expected to be aſcertained of my deſtiny, and then intended to have given you a circumſtantial plan of my operations; but as this day is as remote, in all appearance, as ever, I ſhould be guilty of a monſtrous neglect, in any farther delaying, to pay the tribute of friendſhip which I ſo ſenſibly owe. Believe me, my dear Sir, that I moſt ſincerely love and honour you; and this love and honour is founded on ſo ſolid a baſis, that I have dared to neglect a form which would not be pardoned by a perſon who is not really an object of eſteem.

I have been in this place two months waiting for an opportunity to join the Ruſſian army, and I am afraid I ſhall be obliged to wait a month longer. The communications are ſo filled with the offals of the confederates, who are themſelves a banditti, that it is impoſſible to ſtir ten yards without an eſcort of Ruſſians: the Engliſh are leſs ſecure than others, as they are eſteemed the

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arch-enemies of the holy faith. A French comedian was the other day near being hanged from the circumſtance of his wearing a *bob-wig*, which, by the confederates, is ſuppoſed to be the uniform of the Engliſh nation. I wiſh to God the three branches of our legiſlature would take it into their heads to travel through the woods of Poland in bob-wigs.

The firſt opportunity that will offer will be the preſent ambaſſador, who, it is ſaid, will now be ſucceeded in ten days; but this has been ſo long ſaid, that I begin to deſpair of any opportunity at all; if none ſhould offer, I have made a wiſe journey of it: I believe it would break my heart. I have an unſpeakable curioſity of ſeeing this campaign, though, in fact, I believe it will be a ridiculous one; if not like that of Harlequin and Scapin, it will reſemble the battle of Wilks and Talbot. The Ruſſians can gain nothing by beating their enemy, and the Turks are confoundedly afraid. I wiſh, by practice, to make myſelf a ſoldier for purpoſes honeſt, but which I ſhall not mention. If I am defeated in my intention of joining the Ruſſians, I think of paſſing through Hungary, and ſpending the enſuing winter in the ſouth of Italy, Sicily, or ſome of the iſlands in the Ægean ſea. As you are a ſcholar I venture to talk this cant. As to England, I am reſolved not to ſet my foot in it, till the virtue which I believe to exiſt in the body of the people

can be put into motion. I have good reaſons for it. My ſpirits and temper were much affected by the meaſures which I was witneſs of, meaſures abſolutely moderate, laudable, and virtuous, in compariſon of what has been tranſacted ſince. To return ſolemn thanks to the Crown for the manifeſtly corrupt diſſipation of its enormous revenues and impudent demand on the people: to repair this diſſipation, to complete their own ruin, is puſhing ſervility farther than the raſcally ſenate of Tiberias was guilty of. In this light it is conſidered by all thoſe I converſe with, of every nation, even thoſe who have the leaſt idea of liberty. The Auſtrians and Ruſſians hoot at us. In fine, it is looked upon as the *ultimatum* of human baſeneſs, a *coup de grace* to our freedom and national honour.

You will ſay, it is being a pleaſant correſpondent, giving you my comments on what paſſes under your own eyes, and being entirely ſilent on the tranſactions of this country, which you may be ſuppoſed to have ſome curioſity of being acquainted with. You will not think me ſerious when I aſſure you, that I am as totally a ſtranger to them as yourſelf or any man in England. Humphrey Gates, I am ſure, muſt know fifty times more of the matter. I ſee that the country is in one general ſtate of confuſion, filled with devaſtation and murder. I hear every day of the Ruſſians beating the Confederates; but as to what the Ruſſians,

Ruſſians, what the Confederates, what the body of the nation propoſe, I am utterly ignorant, though no more, I believe, than they are themſelves. Their method of carrying on the war is equally gentle with what our's was in North America; the Confederates hang up all the Ruſſians who fall into their hands, and the Ruſſians put to the ſword the Confederates. The Ruſſian Coſſacks have an admirable *ſang froid* in theſe executions. The other day, at a place called Rava, forty or fifty Confederates were condemned to the bayonet; but as they were tolerably dreſſed, they were obliged to ſtrip for the ceremony, the Coſſacks chuſing not to make any holes in their cloaths. The ſituation of the K—— is really to be lamented, notwithſtanding he wears a crown. He is an honeſt, virtuous man, and a friend to the rights of mankind. I wiſh we could perſuade a prince of my acquaintance, who is taught, (as far as he can be taught any thing,) to hate them, to exchange with him. I know a nation that could ſpare a whole family, mother, and all to the Poles, and only take in exchange this one man. I could ſay many things on this ſubject, *digna literis noſtris, ſed non committenda ejuſmodi periculo, ut aut interire, aut aperiri, aut intercipi poſſint.*

I hope your kindneſs has not entailed any trouble upon you with reſpect to my affairs. I hope Mr. Ayre has been punctual in his payment. I wrote to him from London, acquainting him with

with your powers. If you ſhould paſs by Mr. Hoares, I beg you will tell him, that I wrote to him from Munich, requeſting him to ſend me, if poſſible, a letter of credit to Warſaw, and to give credit to a Captain William Spey, for ſurveying my land in St. John's. How does the hallowed Juliet? It is inconceivable how deeply I am intereſted for the ſucceſs and welfare of that girl. If ſhe does not ſucceed, let her marry me, and ſettle in America. My reſpects to Mrs. Coleman, and that,

I am, moſt ſincerely,

Dear Coleman,

With the warmeſt affection, &c.

C. LEE.

P. S. My love to Rice, that when he can find time and matter I wiſh he would write. What will give me the greateſt pleaſure is to hear of his being married to the widow Wales, or to any good party. He is the only *fine gentleman* I ever loved. Direct to me *Chez le Prince General de Podolia, Varſovia.* Let your letters be as long as poſſible, and let them have in them as much of Juliet as poſſible.

DEAR MADAM, Warſaw, May 2d, 1767.

I SHOULD write to you with more eaſe and pleaſure, had you not given me to underſtand that you looked upon me as an able letter-writer. The ambition of coming up to your expectations lays me under a conſtraint which will enevitably make me fall ſhort of every correſpondent. To render myſelf tolerable, I muſt endeavour to forget your ſex, your beauty; but, above all, the high opinion which you are pleaſed to conceive of my talents in this article. That I may not run into compliment, that I may diveſt myſelf of awe and vanity: the firſt you would deſpiſe as fulſome, and the ſecond and laſt would be productive of reſerve and petulance.

Your underſtanding and the care you hav taken to cultivate it, cuts me off from ſome of the moſt fruitful ſubjects to female correſpondents; the dreſs, intrigues, and diverſions of the women in the ſeveral places we paſs through: but, on the other hand, it affords me ample liberty of pouring out my mind upon ſubjects which, unfortunately for my own eaſe, engroſs it entirely; the dreadful ſituation of all the honeſt part of mankind, and particularly of our own country. How miſerably fallen ſhe is in the eyes of every ſtate! How ſunk are we (in a few months I may ſay) from the ſummit of glory, opulence, and ſtrength,

to the loweſt degree of poverty, imbecillity, and contempt. Europe is aſtoniſhed at the rapidity of the change; high and low, men of every order, from the miniſters of ſtate to the political barbers, make it the ſubject of their admiration. How can it happen, ſay they, that Great Britain, ſo lately the miſtreſs of the globe, with America in one hand, Aſia and Africa in another, inſtead of the glorious talk of giving laws and peace to nations, protecting the weak and injured, checking the powerful and oppreſſive, ſhould employ her time in trampling on the rights of her dependencies, and violating her own ſacred laws, on which her ſuperiority over her neighbours is founded? It was ſome conſolation, ſay they, for the generous few of the Romans who ſurvived the liberties of their country, that it was a Julius Cæſar, a man with more than mortal talents, who was their ſubverter: and the patriots of England had ſome mitigation for their ſpleen, that it was a Cromwell who had over-reached them; but that

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ſhould be able to encompaſs the enſlaving of a ſpirited nation, whoſe every law ſeems dictated by Liberty herſelf, is too much to bear. They compare the noble remonſtrances of the French parliaments againſt the oppreſſions of their court, with the ſlaviſh addreſſes of ours. I muſt confeſs, that inſtead of ſending for cooks and hair-dreſſers from that country, I have long wiſhed that we

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were to supply ourselves with members of Parliament. What it will come to, I know not, but it is time something should be done, and I flatter myself it will: there is much spirit in the body of the people; but I will endeavour to quit this subject; it makes me mad.

This country is the reverse of ours; they have an honest, patriot k——g, but a vicious nation. If God delights in seeing a virtuous man (as Seneca supposes he does) struggling with adversities, he has a charming spectacle in the king of Poland: and I hope God will, in the end, recompence the instrument of his pleasure, by extricating him out of his distresses; nothing else can, I am sure. You must excuse me entering into a detail of these difficulties, as this letter may possibly fall into the hands of the Confederates, and be published to the nation, as several others, full as insignificant, have already been, to the no small detriment of this good man's affairs. I shall reserve them for some future letter, or our evenings chat in Queen Anne Street, or Langham.

Our station here, I mean those who are about the king's person, is whimsical enough. We have few troops, the bulk of these totally disaffected, and the town is full of (though not declared, far from being concealed) Confederates. We have frequent alarms, and the pleasure of sleeping every night with our pistols on our pillows. I at present only wait for an opportunity

to join the Ruſſian army: this does not offer every day, as a ſtrong eſcort is neceſſary, the communications being filled with banditties of robbers, who are the offals of the Confederates. I believe it will be but a ridiculous campaign, ſomething like that of Wilks and Talbot. The Ruſſians can gain nothing by beating their enemy, and the Turks are confoundedly afraid.

I have heard of Lady S——h's flight. I cannot ſay I ever liked the match. It is impoſſible to have the leaſt connection with Fox, either of a political or a private nature, without ſmarting for it: every thing he touches becomes putrid and proſtitute. I hope your brother will have the grace to break this accurſed connection, which has diverted ſuch excellent parts from their true uſe, blaſted all the hopes which his real friends and his country had a right to entertain of him; that he will ſee, in its proper colours, the odiouſneſs of dependency and venality, particularly in a man of fortune; and that he may, by his future conduct, make an ample recompence to the opulent county which has choſe him for their hitherto diſappointment. I am convinced you will not think what I am ſaying as too great a liberty with your brother; I am convinced your ſentiments correſpond with mine; if I thought they did not, I ſolemnly declare, were your beauty and underſtanding greater than they are, I would not write to you. I have no doubt of Mr. Blake's

doing

doing his duty. He is not only well-diſpoſed himſelf, but in the hands of one who might transform a Maccaroni into a Cato. He muſt be the devil himſelf whom a young, beautiful, Engliſh woman, with the ſentiments of a Spartan matron, cannot lead into the ways of political righteouſneſs. If women in general were like you, men could not poſſibly be ſuch rafcals. I have long lamented the accurſed prevailing notion, that women ought to have defective educations. It was the moſt cunning fiend in hell who firſt broached this doctrine; which, had it not prevailed, the better part of the globe would not have groaned in the wretched ſtate of ſlavery we at preſent ſee it. For God's ſake, Madam, have as many daughters as poſſible, and make them as much like yourſelf as poſſible, and ſome deſcendant of Catherine M'Cauley may attribute the ſalvation of the ſtate to your progeny.

I am, dear Madam, with the higheſt eſteem,

Yours, &c.

CHARLES LEE.

Mrs. M'Cauley.

DEAR LOUISA, Warſaw, May 4th, 1767.

WHEN you firſt requeſted me to give you leſſons in Engliſh, I eſteemed myſelf happy to demonſtrate my gratitude to Madam Kreithin for her ſingular kindneſs to me. I have been ſo uſed to converſe with myſelf and a few favourite books, that I never found it neceſſary to attend the toilets of women, meerly as the generality do, to fly from themſelves, and kill the time which they have no other means of employing. This was my original motive; but on one or two converſations with my ſcholar, I entertained a ſort of ambition of adding ſomething to the means of enlightening ſo excellent an underſtanding as I perceived her to be poſſeſſed of. A little knowledge of the Engliſh language I conceived to be one of the means, as it abounds with ſo many excellent and inſtructing books. For a few days my views were confined to this; but, O Louiſa! you ought, you muſt, have ſeen this ambition giving place to another leſs tranquil ſentiment. Why did not you check it in its birth, by affecting to find difficulties in the taſk you had undertaken? Why did you not, on ſome ſuch humane pretext, remove me from your ſide before the flame had acquired ſuch inextinguiſhable fierceneſs? This you ſhould in charity have done, as you was determined to treat me as an enemy the moment

moment I declared I loved. Your reſentment at my pretending to more than common friendſhip, is futile and vain, or, what is worſe, hypocritical and deceitful. You know your own charms, your own powers too well. You have proved them with an unhappy ſucceſs on ſeveral, not to be conſcious that it is impoſſible to ſee you often, and to hear your voice, without being forced beyond the bounds of friendſhip. But, to ſpeak proudly, I do not ſee why the declaration of my paſſion ſhould ſo heinouſly offend you. To inſpire you with an equal paſſion for an object deſtitute of any kind of charm, would be ridiculous preſumption: and were I furniſhed with every charm that could captivate womankind, to entertain any hopes which might affect your happineſs or reputation, would be the higheſt villainy; but as I am born of a reputable family, I hope my character is rather a fair one; and as my fortune is ſufficiently ample to make an honeſt man independent and an honeſt woman content, I cannot ſee the mighty crime in wiſhing to unite your fortune with mine. I had flattered myſelf, that time and an unwearied attention to pleaſe, would have ſupplied in me what you might find amiſs in my perſon or the arts of converſation.

I am, dear Louiſa, with much eſteem,

Yours, &c.

CHARLES LEE.

To Louiſa C - - - - -.

My dear Lord, Warſaw, May 4th 1767.

I WROTE a ſort of ſcrap of a note to you by the hands of Fawkner, and flattered myſelf that I ſhould have found at this place a ſcrap in return. I know your indolence too well, to expect a letter of a ſheet of paper, and do not exact it; but if you knew how much pleaſure a ſcrap ſigned by your hand, certifying your health, welfare, and good ſpirits, affords me, I am confident you would from time to time muſter up reſolution, to write me a few lines, three will be ſufficient, which I inſiſt on, as a tribute due to friendſhip, which on my ſide I can affirm to be as pure and genuine as the ſpawn of ſuch a raſcally planet as this is capable of; and I have the ſtrongeſt reaſon to think it is not leſs ſo on yours. I muſt therefore repeat it, that I expect a tribute of this ſort every fifth or ſixth poſt. I have been in this happy capital five weeks, waiting for an opportunity to join the Ruſſian army, which does not offer every day, for the communications are filled by a ſet of gentlemen who are called Confederates, but why or wherefore they are pleaſed to ſtyle themſelves Confederates, I cannot find out. They give no reaſons, they propoſe no plan, but they rob, ſtrip, and generally murder every body who fall into their hands.

You uſed to dine formerly with very knowing, wiſe politicians, ſuch as Hanſs, Stanley, and others, who are acquainted with all the ſchemes of all the nations,

and

and all the individuals in Europe; I would requeſt you, to give me ſome hints of what theſe worthies intend: You will ſcarcely believe me ſerious, but I do aſſure you, that I knew, before I left London, the ſtate of this country, full as well, if not better than I do here on the ſpot. If Gates is in the way, you will much oblige me, in procuring his opinion. I have greater reaſon every day to congratulate my prudence in having left England; I am perſuaded, had I ſtayed, I ſhould have brought myſelf into ſome curſed ſcrape; even here, at ſo great a diſtance, I am thrown into ſtrange agitations of paſſion on the ſight of every newſpaper. Heavenly God! is it poſſible we ſhould be ſo far ſunk? to return ſolemn thanks for a manifeſtly corrupt diſſipation of ſuch enormous revenues, and an impudent demand on the public to repair this diſſipation, is puſhing ſervility to its *ultimatum*. Thoſe nations who have the leaſt idea of liberty, as the Auſtrians and Ruſſians, laugh and hoot at us; compare ſay they, the remonſtrances of the French parliaments with the addreſſes of yours, and then dare to pride yourſelves in the ſuperiority of Britiſh ſpirit over their neighbours. It is impoſſible to make the leaſt reply to theſe charges, I choak with grief and indignation. When I attempt to aſſure them that the body of the nation is ſtill untainted, that they have ſtill ſentiments of freedom; they anſwer, that ſuch ſentiments are of little conſequence, when courage is wanting to put them in motion.

motion. Is not every of your moſt boaſted laws trampled upon, or eluded? Is not perjury, deſolation, and murder, encouraged and rewarded with the national money? Are not your magiſtrates, from the ſole merit of being declared enemies of the law, become factious partizans? Is not the choice of your people in their repreſentatives, treated with contempt and annulled? Are not your citizens maſſacred in the public ſtreets and in the arms of their houſhold gods by the military, and the military thanked for their friendlike alertneſs? If theſe things are borne with by a people, who poſſeſs ſentiments of liberty, we have loſt the meaning of words. Such, my dear Lord, is the language of theſe people, and it is fortunate for me, that they are ignorant of the ſtate of our American politics. They can have no idea of our carrying our abominations ſo far, as to diſfranchiſe three millions of people of all the rights of men, for the gratification of the revenge of a blundering knaviſh Secretary, and a ſcoundrel Attorney General, a Hillſborough, and a Barnard. Were they informed of theſe facts, their opinion of us would be ſtill more mortifying. I had the other day a converſation with the gentleman to whom you gave the horſe; he laments, with great energy, the weak and wicked conduct of our adminiſtration, not only on our own account, but on that of all Europe. He ſays, did they barely poſſeſs common ſenſe, and common honeſty, Great

Britain

Britain muſt have been the Empreſs of the World; that ſhe might have kept on the muzzles of the dogs of war, which muſt now inevitably be ſlipped off, to the devaſtation of the greater part of the globe. He deſires his reſpects to you, and thanks you again and again for the horſe which turns out nobly. I beg my compliments to Lady Thanet, and was in hopes to have heard that ſhe had before this, produced you a ſon. Adieu, my dear Lord and write ſoon a few lines to one who ſincerely loves you.

C. LEE.

Lord Thanet.

MOST GRACIOUS SIR, Kaminec, Auguſt 16th, 1767.

AS an expreſs is this evening diſpatched by the governor, I take the liberty of addreſſing this ſcribble to your Majeſty. As it is in Engliſh, I am in hopes no bad conſequences can ariſe, if it falls into the hands of the Confederates. Your Majeſty will have heard of our retreat—a thouſand reaſons will undoubtedly be given, and probably not one founded in juſtice; I muſt, it is my duty, to ſpeak

freely to your Majeſty. The operations have been miſerably concluded; they opened with a capital defect—without a certainty of the ſtate of the place, (Chotzim,) they were deſtined to attack it; they with infinite fatigue and expence marched to the certain, (in idea,) reduction of it, without the poſſible means of reducing it. Chotzim is perhaps as ſecure from aſſault, as any fortreſs in the univerſe; but muſt inevitably be taken, when attacked with the neceſſary quantity of battering artillery, in forty hours. The hopes of reducing it, with our pop-guns ſoon appeared vain; it was then ſeemingly determined to blockade it, but the line of blockade was either broken in part, or totally taken away on every alarm. When the blockade was formed, the grand Vizier was expected with an hundred and fifty thouſand men. If that number was formidable, they ought not to have formed the blockade, but retired at once over the Nieſter, without haraſſing for no purpoſe, their men and their horſes. If it was not formidable, they ought to have perſiſted in the blockade. In fact, the Ruſſian army, I mean the infantry, brave as it is, was not ſufficient in number to form a line compleat of circumvallation, againſt ſo numerous an enemy; but neither the marching without battering cannon, the blockading the place without a reſolution to perſiſt in it, nor any blunder committed, are ſo liable to cenſure, as the neglect to

attack them in their camp. If ſucceſs in war can be aſſured, ours was certainly ſo.

I am,

with the higheſt reſpect and attachment,

Your Majeſty's moſt obedient and

humble ſervant,

CHARLES LEE.

To ——

My dear Davers, Dijon, Jan. 19th, 1768.

THOUGH I have been a long time in anſwering your letter, I beg you will not conclude, that the pleaſure I received from it, is but ſmall. Believe me, that every freſh aſſurance of your friendſhip gives me unſpeakable ſatisfaction, though I have no need of freſh aſſurances to be convinced of it. The longer I live, my love for you, acquires greater force, perhaps from a cynical diſpoſition, in comparing you with other men. I have long been acquainted with your private virtues, and my opi-

nion

tion of your political virtues is now confirmed. I am only concerned at your having thoughts of quitting parliament. I know your reaſons, but cannot approve of them. You think, that as you are not a ſpeaker, as you have no turn for buſineſs, your attendance will little avail; that it cannot contribute to ſtem the torrent of corruption and villainy which at preſent bears down every thing before it. It is this indolent or deſpairing method of reaſoning, of many honeſt men, for I cannot help being perſuaded that there are ſtill many honeſt men, that have reduced us to this terrible ſituation. You know that the God of the Jews who ſhould have been a judge of Jewiſh affairs, as he interfered in them ſo much, was of opinion that five righteous men were ſufficient to ſave the rotten ſtate of Gomorrah; and I do not find that he meant they ſhould be all ſpeakers. Beſides, the maſs of the people of Gomorrah was all polluted, but the maſs of the Engliſh people certainly is not. I believe no people was ever poſſeſſed of more public virtue, which is manifeſt from all their proceedings. I beg, my dear friend, you will not in deſpair quit the deck and get under hatches—work at the pump—hand a rope, doing any thing with good will and firmneſs—encourage others to do the ſame, and with ſo intrepid a pilot, as Sir George Saville, the veſſel may perhaps work into harbour, notwithſtanding the

the abominable treaſon of the major part of the crew.

I am yours, &c.

C. LEE.

Sir C. Davers.

My Lord, Philadelphia, October 29th, 1774.

THE noble part your Lordſhip has acted in oppoſing all the diabolical meaſures of our accurſed *miſrulers*, has encouraged me to addreſs theſe few lines to you. Men who are embarked in the glorious cauſe of liberty ſhould wave all ceremony. I ſhall therefore neither trouble you, nor myſelf with making apologies. Incloſed I ſend your Grace a copy of the different reſolves of the Congreſs, (though it is probable you may have received them before,) their addreſs to the people of England, to the people of Engliſh America, to the people of Canada, and to the King. They argue ſo irreſiſtibly, and they breathe ſo noble an ardor, that if there is the leaſt underſtanding remaining in your iſland, and the leaſt virtue latent, the former

mer muſt be convinced, and the latter rouſed to action. What could put it into our blockheads heads, that theſe people could be tricked out of their liberties by their cunning, or bullied by any force which they can ſend over? What devil of nonſenſe could inſtigate any man of General Gage's underſtanding to concur in bringing about this deluſion? I have lately, my lord, run through almoſt the whole colonies, from the South to the North. I have converſed with all orders of men from the firſt eſtated gentlemen to the pooreſt planters, and cannot expreſs my aſtoniſhment at the good ſenſe and general knowledge, which pervades the whole; but their elevated principles, their enthuſiaſm in the cauſe of freedom and their country, is ſtill more admirable.

I think I ſhould not be guilty of exaggeration in aſſerting, that there are two hundred thouſand ſtrong bodied active yeomanry, ready to encounter all hazards and dangers, ready to ſacrifice all conſiderations rather than ſurrender a title of the rights which they have derived from God and their anceſtors: But this is not all, they are not like the yeomanry of other countries, unarmed and unuſed to arms; but they are all furniſhed and all expert in the uſe. They want nothing but ſome arrangement, and this they are now bent on eſtabliſhing. Virginia, Rhode Iſland, and Carolina are forming corps: Maſſachuſets Bay has long had a ſufficient

cient number inſtructed to become inſtructive to the reſt; even this Quakering province is following the example. I was preſent at a review of ſome of their companies at Providence in Rhode Iſland, and really never ſaw any thing more perfect; in ſhort, unleſs the banditti at Weſtminſter ſpeedily undo every thing they have done, their royal paymaſter will hear of reviews and manœuvres not quite ſo entertaining as thoſe he is preſented with in Hyde Park and Wimbledon Common.

I muſt now, my dear Lord, haſten to the main purpoſe of this letter: As your Lordſhip is juſtly conſidered as one of the moſt ſtrenuous advocates, and patrons of this country, and one of the moſt active aſſertors of the rights of mankind, I muſt beg leave to propoſe to you, what, had you adverted to, I am perſuaded you would have already adopted; it is to ſet on foot a ſubſcription for a relief or an indemnification for the brave ſufferers of Boſton. Theſe people's ſufferings and merit are ſo tranſcendent, that men leſs animated with ſentiment and public ſpirit than your Lordſhip, would exert themſelves in their cauſe. A town conſiſting of thirty thouſand people, perhaps of more eaſe and affluent circumſtances than any other town of the world, reduced at one ſtroke to beggary and wretchedneſs; every individual of them deprived of the means of ſupplying themſelves with a morſel of bread, but what is furniſhed to them by the precarious hand of charity; to

ſee a whole people ſtruggling with the extreme of diſtreſs, not only magnanimouſly, but chearfully, rather than comply with the wiſhes of brutal tyrants, and thereby admit precedents injurious to mankind and poſterity, is, I ſay, a ſtrain of virtue almoſt too bright for modern eyes to gaze at; and muſt fill every breaſt, not totally dead to ſentiment and feeling, with rage, indignation, horror, and compaſſion. But they went further; they made a formal offer to the Congreſs, to abandon their town, with their wives, children, aged, and infirm, throw themſelves on the charity of the inhabitants of the country, or build huts in the woods and never reviſit their native walls, until reeſtabliſhed in the full poſſeſſion of their rights and liberties. Your Lordſhip will ſee the Congreſs's reſolve on this head: Theſe inſtances, I am ſure, render unneceſſary any thing I could ſay to incite a man of your Grace's ſtamp to exertions in their favour, or, more properly, in favour and ſupport of human virtue. I ſhould be very happy in receiving a couple of lines in anſwer; it muſt be directed for me, at Richard Penn, Eſq. at Philadelphia.

I am, my Lord, your Grace's
true friend, admirer, and
Humble ſervant,

To
His Grace
the Duke of ——.

C. LEE.

My

My dear Sir, Philadelphia, June 7, 1775.

WE have had twenty different accounts of your arrival at Boſton, which have been regularly contradicted the next morning; but as I now find it certain that you are arrived, I ſhall not delay a ſingle inſtant addreſſing myſelf to you. It is a duty I owe to the friendſhip I have long and ſincerely profeſſed for you; a friendſhip to which you have the ſtrongeſt claims from the firſt moment of our acquaintance. There is no man from whom I have received ſo many teſtimonies of eſteem and affection; there is no man whoſe eſteem and affection could, in my opinion, have done me greater honour. I intreat and conjure you, therefore, my dear Sir, to impute theſe lines, not to a petulant itch of ſcribbling, but to the moſt unfeigned ſollicitude for the future tranquillity of your mind, and for your reputation. I ſincerely lament the infatuation of the times, when men of ſuch a ſtamp as Mr. Burgoyne and Mr. Howe can be ſeduced into ſo impious and nefarious a ſervice by the artifice of a wicked and inſidious court and cabinet. You cannot but recollect their manœuvres in your own ſelect committee, and the treatment yourſelf as preſident received from theſe abandoned men. You cannot but recollect the black buſineſs of St. Vincents, by an oppoſition to which you acquired the higheſt and moſt deſerved honour. I ſhall not

trouble you with my opinion of the right of taxing America without her own conſent, as I am afraid, from what I have ſeen of your ſpeeches, that you have already formed your creed on this article; but I will boldly affirm, had this right been eſtabliſhed by a thouſand ſtatutes, had America admitted it from time immemorial, it would be the duty of every good Engliſhman to exert his utmoſt to diveſt parliament of this right, as it muſt inevitably work the ſubverſion of the whole empire. The malady under which the State labours, is indiſputably derived from the inadequate repreſentation of the ſubject, and the vaſt pecuniary influence of the Crown.

To add to this pecuniary influence and incompetency of repreſentation, is to inſure and precipitate our deſtruction. To wiſh any addition, can ſcarcely enter the heart of a citizen who has the leaſt ſpark of public virtue, and who is at the ſame time capable of ſeeing conſequences the moſt immediate. I appeal, Sir, to your own conſcience, to your experience and knowledge of our court and parliament, and I requeſt you to lay your hand upon your heart, and then anſwer with your uſual integrity and frankneſs, whether, on the ſuppoſition America ſhould be abject enough to ſubmit to the terms impoſed, you think a ſingle guinea raiſed upon her would be applied to the purpoſe, (as it is oſtentaciouſly held out to deceive the people at home,) of eaſing the mother country? Or whether

whether you are not convinced that the whole they could extract, would be applied ſolely to keep up ſtill further the enormous fund for corruption which the Crown already poſſeſſes, and of which a moſt diabolical uſe is made. On theſe principles, I ſay, Sir, every good Engliſhman, abſtracted of all regard for America, muſt oppoſe her being taxed by the Britiſh parliament; for my own part, I am convinced that no argument, (not totally abhorrent from the ſpirit of liberty, and the Britiſh conſtitution,) can be produced in ſupport of this right. But it would be impertinent to trouble you upon a ſubject which has been ſo amply, and, in my opinion, ſo fully diſcuſſed. I find by a ſpeech given as yours in the public papers, that it was by the King's poſitive command you embarked in this ſervice. I am ſomewhat pleaſed that it is not an office of your own ſeeking, though, at the ſame time, I muſt confeſs, that it is very alarming to every virtuous citizen, when he ſees men of ſenſe and integrity, (becauſe of a certain profeſſion,) lay it down as a rule implicitly to obey the mandates of a court, be they ever ſo flagitious. It furniſhes, in my opinion, the beſt argument for the total reduction of the army. But I am running into a tedious eſſay, whereas I ought to confine myſelf to the main deſign and purpoſe of this letter, which is to guard you and your colleagues from thoſe prejudices which the ſame miſcreants, who have infatuated General Gage and ſtill ſurround him,

will labour to inſtil into you againſt a brave, loyal, and moſt deſerving people. The avenues of truth will be ſhut up to you. I aſſert, Sir, that even General Gage will deceive you, as he has deceived himſelf; I do not ſay he will do it deſignedly; I do not think him capable: But his mind is ſo totally poiſoned, and his underſtanding ſo totally blinded by the ſociety of fools and knaves, that he no longer is capable of diſcerning facts as manifeſt as noon day ſun. I aſſert, Sir, that his letters to the miniſtry, (at leaſt, ſuch as the public have ſeen,) are one continued tiſſue of miſrepreſentation, injuſtice, and tortured inferences from miſtated facts. I affirm, Sir, that he has taken no pains to inform himſelf of the truth; that he has never converſed with a man who has had the courage or honeſty to tell him the truth. I am apprehenſive that you and your colleagues may fall into the ſame trap, and it is the apprehenſion that you may be inconſiderately hurried by the vigour and activity you poſſeſs into meaſures which may be fatal to many innocent individuals, may hereafter wound your own feelings, and which cannot poſſibly ſerve the cauſe of thoſe who ſent you, that has prompted me to addreſs theſe lines to you. I moſt devoutly wiſh, that your induſtry, valour and military talents, may be reſerved for a more honourable and virtuous ſervice, againſt the natural enemies of your country, (to whom our Court are ſo baſely complacent,) and not be waſted in ineffectual

fectual attempts to reduce to the wretchedeſt ſtate of ſervitude, the moſt meritorious part of your fellow ſubjects. I ſay, Sir, that any attempts to accompliſh this purpoſe muſt be ineffectual. You cannot poſſibly ſucceed. No man is better acquainted with the ſtate of this continent than myſelf. I have ran through almoſt the whole colonies from the North to the South, and from the South to the North. I have converſed with all orders of men, from the firſt eſtated gentlemen, to the loweſt planters and farmers, and can aſſure you that the ſame ſpirit animates the whole. Not leſs than one hundred and fifty thouſand gentlemen, yeomen, and farmers, are now in arms, determined to preſerve their liberties or periſh. As to the idea that the Americans are deficient in courage, it is too ridiculous and glaringly falſe to deſerve a ſerious refutation. I never could conceive upon what this notion was founded. I ſerved ſeveral campaigns in America the laſt war, and cannot recollect a ſingle inſtance of ill behaviour in the provincials, where the regulars acquitted themſelves well. Indeed we well remember ſome inſtances of the reverſe, particularly where the late Colonel Grant, (he who lately pledged himſelf for the general cowardice of America,) ran away with a large body of his own regiment, and was ſaved from deſtruction, by the valour of a few Virginians. Such prepoſterous arguments are only proper for the Rigbys and Sandwichs, from whoſe mouths never iſſued,

and to whoſe breaſt, truth and decency are utter ſtrangers. You will much oblige me in communicating this letter to General Howe, to whom I could wiſh it ſhould be conſidered in ſome meaſure addreſſed; as well as to yourſelf. Mr. Howe is a man for whom I have ever had the higheſt love and reverence. I have honoured him for his own connections, but above all, for his admirable talents and good qualities. I have courted his acquaintance and friendſhip, not only as a pleaſure, but as an ornament; I flattered myſelf that I had obtained it. Gracious God! is it poſſible that Mr. Howe ſhould be prevailed upon to accept ſuch an office! That the brother of him, to whoſe memory the much injured people of Boſton erected a monument, ſhould be employed as one of the inſtruments of their deſtruction! But the faſhion of the times it ſeems is ſuch, as renders it impoſſible that he ſhould avoid it. The commands of our moſt gracious ſovereign, are to cancel all moral obligations, to ſanctify every action, even thoſe that the ſatrap of an Eaſtern deſpot would ſtart at. I ſhall now beg leave to ſay a few words with reſpect to myſelf and the part I act. I was bred up from my infancy in the higheſt veneration for the liberties of mankind in general. What I have ſeen of Courts and princes, convinces me that power cannot be lodged in worſe hands than in theirs; and of all courts I am perſuaded that ours is the moſt corrupt and hoſtile to the rights of humanity. I am convinced,

vinced, that a regular plan has been laid, indeed every act ſince the preſent acceſſion evinces it, to aboliſh even the ſhadow of liberty from amongſt us. It was not the demolition of the tea, it was not any other particular act of the Boſtonians, or of the other provinces, which conſtituted their crimes; but it is the noble ſpirit of liberty manifeſtly pervading the whole continent, which has rendered them the objects of miniſterial and royal vengeance. Had they been notoriouſly of another diſpoſition, had they been *homines ad ſervitudinem paratos*, they might have made as free with the property of the Eaſt India Company as the felonious North himſelf with impunity. But the lords of St. James's and their mercenaries of St. Stephens will know, that as long as the free ſpirit of this great continent remains unſubdued, the progreſs they can make in their ſcheme of univerſal deſpotiſm, will be but trifling. Hence it is, that they wage inexpiable war againſt America. In ſhort, this is the laſt aſſylum of perſecuted liberty. Here ſhould the machinations and fury of her enemies prevail, that bright Goddeſs muſt fly off from the face of the earth, and leave not a trace behind. Theſe, Sir, are my principles; this is my perſuaſion, and conſequently I am determined to act. I have now, Sir, only to entreat, that whatever meaſures you purſue, whether thoſe which your real friends (myſelf amongſt them) would wiſh, or unfortunately thoſe which our accurſed *miſrulers*

ſhall

ſhall dictate, you will ſtill believe me to be perſonally, with the greateſt ſincerity and affection,

Yours, &c.

C. LEE.

Gen. Burgoyne.

DEAR SIR,

WHEN we were laſt together in ſervice I ſhould not have thought it within the viciſſitude of human affairs that we ſhould meet at any time, or in any ſenſe as foes: the letter you have honoured me with, and my own feelings combine to prove we are far from being perſonally ſuch.

I claim no merit from the attentions you ſo kindly remember, but as they manifeſt how much it was my pride to be known for your friend: Nor have I departed from the duties of that character, when I will not ſcruple to ſay, it has been almoſt a general offence to maintain it: I mean ſince the violent part you have taken in the commotions of the colonies. It would exceed the limits and propriety of our preſent correſpondence to argue at full, the great cauſe in which we are engaged.

But,

But, anxious to preſerve a conſiſtent and ingenuous character, and jealous, I confeſs, of having the part I ſuſtain imputed to ſuch motives as you intimate, I will ſtate to you as conciſely as I can, the principles upon which, not voluntarily, but moſt conſcientiouſly, I undertook it.

I have, like you, entertained from my infancy, a veneration for public liberty. I have likewiſe regarded the Britiſh conſtitution, as the beſt ſafeguard of that bleſſing to be found in the hiſtory of mankind. The vital principle of the conſtitution, in which it moves and has its being, is the ſupremacy of the King in Parliament, a compound, indefinite, indefenſible power, co-eval with the origin of the empire, and co-extenſive over all its parts: I am no ſtranger to the doctrines of Mr. Locke and other of the beſt advocates for the rights of mankind, upon the compact always implied between the governing and governed, and the right of reſiſtance in the latter, when the compact ſhall be ſo violated as to leave no other means of redreſs. I look with reverence almoſt amounting to idolatry, upon thoſe immortal men who adopted and applied ſuch doctrine, during part of the reign of Charles the Firſt, and in that of James the Second, ſhould corruption pervade the three eſtates of the realm, ſo as to pervert the great ends of their inſtitution, and make the power veſted in them for the good of the whole people operate like an abuſe upon the prerogative of the Crown to general oppreſ-

oppreſſion, I am ready to acknowledge, that the ſame doctrine of reſiſtance applies as forcibly againſt the abuſes of the collective body of power, as againſt thoſe of the Crown, or either of the component branches ſeparately: ſtill always underſtood that no other means of redreſs can be obtained. A caſe, I contend, much more difficult to ſuppoſe when it relates to the whole, than when it relates to parts. But in all caſes that have exiſted, or can be conceived, I hold, that reſiſtance, to be juſtifiable, muſt be directed againſt the uſurpation or undue exerciſe of power, and that it is moſt criminal when directed againſt any power itſelf inherent in the conſtitution.

And here you will diſcern immediately why I drew a line in the alluſion I made above to the reign of Charles the Firſt. Towards the cloſe of it the true principle of reſiſtance was changed, and a new ſyſtem of government projected accordingly. The patriots, previous to the long parliament, and during great part of it, as well as the glorious Revolutioniſts of 1681, reſiſted to vindicate and reſtore the conſtitution; the republicans reſiſted, to ſubvert it.

Now, Sir, lay your hand upon your heart, as you have enjoined me to do on mine, and tell me, to which of theſe purpoſes do the proceedings of America tend? Is it the weight of taxes impoſed, and the poſſibility of relief after due repreſentation of her burthens, that has induced her to take up arms?

arms? Or is it a denial of the legiſlative right of Great Britain, to impoſe them, and conſequently a ſtruggle for total independency? For this idea of a power that can tax externally and not internally, and all the ſophiſtry that attends it, though it may catch the weakneſs and prejudices of the multitude in a ſpeech or a pamphlet, is too prepoſterous to weigh ſeriouſly with a man of your underſtanding, and I am perſuaded you will admit the queſtion fairly put.

Is it then for a relief from taxes? or from the controul of parliament "in all caſes whatſover," that we are in war? If, for the former, the quarrel is at an end. There is not a man of ſenſe and information in America, who does not ſee it is in the power of the colonies to obtain a relinquiſhment of the exerciſe of taxation immediately and for ever. I boldly aſſert it, becauſe ſenſe and information muſt alſo ſuggeſt to every man, that it can never be the intereſt of Britain to make a ſecond trial.

But if the other ground is taken, and it is intended to wreſt from Great Britain a link of that ſubſtantial, and, I hope, perpetual chain, by which the empire holds, think it not a miniſterial mandate; think it not a mere profeſſional ardour; think it not prejudice againſt any part of our fellow ſubjects, that induces men of integrity, and among ſuch, you have done me the honour to claſs me, to act with vigour. But be aſſured it is con-

conviction, that the whole of our political ſyſtem depends upon preſerving entire its great and eſſential parts; and none is ſo great and eſſential as the ſupremacy of legiſlation. It is conviction, that as the king of England never appears in ſo glorious a capacity as when he employs the executive power of the ſtate to maintain the laws, ſo in the preſent exertions of that power, his Majeſty is particularly entitled to our zeal and grateful obedience, not only as ſoldiers, but as citizens.

Theſe principles, depend upon it, actuate the army and fleet throughout: and let me at the ſame time add, there are few, if any, gentlemen among us who would have drawn his ſword in the cauſe of ſlavery. But why do I confine myſelf to the fleet and army? I affirm, the ſentiments I here touch, to be thoſe of the great bulk of the nation. I appeal even to thoſe trading towns which are ſufferers by the diſpute, and the city of London at the head of them, notwithſtanding the petitions and remonſtrances that the arts of parties and factions have extorted from ſome individuals; and laſt, becauſe, leaſt in your favour, I appeal to the majorities of the laſt year upon American queſtions in parliament. The moſt licentious news-writer wants aſſurance to call theſe majorities miniſterial; much leſs will you, when you impartially examine the characters of which they were in a great degree compoſed; men of the moſt independent principles and fortunes, and

many

many of them profeſſedly in oppoſition in their general line of conduct.

Among other ſupporters of Britiſh rights againſt American claims, I will not ſpeak poſitively, but, I firmly believe, I may name the men of whoſe integrity and judgment you have the higheſt opinion, and whoſe friendſhip is neareſt your heart: I mean Lord Thanet, from whom my aid de camp has a letter for you, with another from Sir C. Davers. I do not incloſe them, becauſe the writers (little imagining how difficult your conduct would render our intercourſe) deſired they might be delivered into your hands.

For this purpoſe, as well as to renew "the rights of our fellowſhip," I wiſh to ſee you; and, above all, I ſhould think an interview happy if it induced ſuch explanations as might tend, in their conſequences, to peace. I feel, in common with all around me, for the unhappy deluded bulk of this country: they foreſee not the diſtreſs that is impending. I know Great Britain is ready to open her arms upon the firſt reaſonable overtures of accommodation: I know ſhe is equally reſolute to maintain her original right; and I alſo know, that if the war proceeds, your hundred and fifty thouſand men will be no match for her power. I put my honour to theſe aſſertions as you have done to others; and I claim the credit I am willing to give.

The place I would propoſe for our meeting, is the

the houſe on Boſton Neck, juſt within our advanced ſentries, called Brown's Houſe: I will obtain authority to give you my parole of honour for your ſecure return. I ſhall expect the ſame on your part, that no inſult be offered me. If the propoſal is agreeable to you, name your day and hour: - - - - and at all events, accept a ſincere return of the aſſurances you honour me with, and believe me,

Affectionately Yours,

J. BURGOYNE.

P. S. I have been prevented, by buſineſs, anſwering your letter ſooner. I obeyed your commands in regard to General Howe and Clinton; and I likewiſe communicated to Lord Percy the contents of your letter and my anſwer. They all join with me in compliments, and authoriſe me to aſſure you they do the ſame in principles.

Cambridge, Head Quarters, July 11th, 1775.

GENERAL LEE'S compliments to General Burgoyne: would be extremely happy in the interview he ſo kindly propoſed; but as he perceives,

ceives, that General Burgoyne has already made up his mind on this great ſubject, and that it is impoſſible that he (General Lee) ſhould ever alter his opinion, he is apprehenſive that the interview might create thoſe jealouſies and ſuſpicions ſo natural to a people ſtruggling in the deareſt of all cauſes, that of their liberty, property, wives, children, and their future generations. He muſt, therefore, defer the happineſs of embracing a man whom he moſt ſincerely loves, until the ſubverſion of the preſent tyrannical miniſtry and ſyſtem, which he is perſuaded muſt be in a few months, as he knows Great Britain cannot ſtand the conteſt. He begs General Burgoyne will ſend the letters which his aid de camp has for him. If Gardiner is his aid de camp, he deſires his love to him.

Camp on Proſpect Hill, Dec. 1ſt, 1775.

DEAR SIR,

AS I am juſt informed you are ready to embark for England, I cannot refrain from once more treſpaſſing on your patience. An opportunity is now preſented of immortalizing yourſelf as the ſaviour of your country. The whole Britiſh em-

pire ſtands tottering on the brink of ruin, and you have it in your power to prevent the fatal cataſtrophe; but it will admit of no delay. For Heaven's ſake avail yourſelf of the precious moment: put an end to the deluſion: exert the voice of a brave, virtuous citizen; and tell the people at home, that they muſt immediately reſcind all their impolitic, iniquitous, tyrannical, murderous acts; that they muſt overturn the whole frantic ſyſtem, or that they are undone. You aſk me, in your letter, if it is independence at which the Americans aim? I anſwer, No; the idea never entered a ſingle American's head, until the moſt intolerable oppreſſion forced it upon them. All they required was, to remain maſters of their own property, and be governed by the ſame equitable laws which they had enjoyed from the firſt formation of the Colonies. The ties of connection which bound them to their parent country, were ſo dear to them, that he who would have ventured to touch them, would have been conſidered as the moſt impious of mortals; but theſe ſacred ties, the ſame men, who have violated or baffled the moſt precious laws and rights of the people at home, diſſipated, or refuſed to account for their treaſures, tarniſhed the glory, and annihilated the importance of the nation: theſe ſacred ties, I ſay, ſo dear to every American, Bute and his Tory adminiſtration are now rending aſunder.

You

You aſk, whether it is the weight of taxes of which they complain? I anſwer, No: It is the principal they combat, and they would be guilty in the eyes of God and men, of the preſent world, and all poſterity, did they not reject it; for if it were admitted, they would have nothing that they could call their own; they would be in a worſe condition than the wretched ſlaves in the Weſt India Iſlands, whoſe little peculium has ever been eſteemed inviolate. But, wherefore ſhould I dwell on this? Is not the caſe with Ireland the ſame with theirs? They are ſubordinate to the Britiſh empire; they are ſubordinate to the Parliament of Great Britain, but they tax themſelves. Why, as the caſe is ſimilar, do you begin with them? But you know, Mr. Burgoyne, audacious as the miniſtry are, they dare not attempt it. There is one part of your letter which, I confeſs, I do not underſtand. If I recollect right, (for I, unfortunately, have not the letter by me,) you ſay, that if the privilege of taxing themſelves is what the Americans claim, the conteſt is at an end. You ſurely cannot allude to the propoſitions of North. It is impoſſible that you ſhould not think, with me and all mankind, that theſe propoſitions are no more or leſs than adding to a moſt abominable oppreſſion, a more abominable inſult. But, to recur to the queſtion of Americans aiming at independence: Do any inſtructions of any one of the provinces to their repreſentatives, or delegates,

furniſh the leaſt ground for this ſuſpicion? On the contrary, do they not all breathe the ſtrongeſt attachment and filial piety to their parent country? But if ſhe diſcards all the natural tenderneſs of a mother, and acts the part of a cruel ſtep-dame, it muſt naturally be expected that their affections will ceaſe; the miniſtry leave them no alternative, *aut ſerviri, aut alienari jubent;* it is in human nature; it is a moral obligation to adopt the latter. But the fatal ſeparation has not yet taken place, and yourſelf, your ſingle ſelf, my friend, may, perhaps, prevent it. Upon the miniſtry, I am afraid, you can make no impreſſion; for, to repeat a hackneyed quotation,

> They are in blood
> Stepp'd in ſo far, that, ſhould they wade no more,
> To return would be as tedious as go o'er.

But, if you will at once break off all connections with theſe pernicious men; if you will wave all conſideration, but the ſalvation of your country, Great Britain may ſtand as much indebted to General Burgoyne, as Rome was to her Camillus. Do not, I entreat you, my dear Sir, think this the mad rhapſody of an enthuſiaſt, nor the cant of a factious deſigning man; for, in theſe colours, I am told, I am frequently painted. I ſwear by all that's ſacred, as I hope for comfort and honour in this world, and to avoid miſery in the next, that I moſt earneſtly and devoutly love

my

my native country; that I wiſh the ſame happy relation to ſubſiſt for ages betwixt her and her children, which has raiſed the wide arch of her empire to ſo ſtupendous and enviable a height; but at the ſame time I avow, that if the parliament and people ſhould be depraved enough to ſupport any longer the preſent miniſtry in their infernal ſcheme, my zeal and reverence for the rights of humanity are ſo much greater than my fondneſs for any particular ſpot, even the place of my nativity, that, had I any influence in the councils of America, I would adviſe not to heſitate a ſingle inſtant, but deciſively to cut the Gordian knot, now beſmeared with civil blood.

This, I know, is ſtrong emphatic language, and might paſs, with men who are ſtrangers to the flame which the love of liberty is capable of lighting up in the human breaſt, for a proof of my inſanity; but you, Sir, unleſs I have miſtaken you from the beginning, will conceive, that a man, in his ſober ſenſes, may poſſeſs ſuch feelings. In my ſober ſenſes, therefore, permit me once more moſt earneſtly to entreat and conjure you to exert your whole force, energy, and talents to ſtop the miniſtry in this their headlong career. If you labour in vain, (as, I muſt repeat, I think will be the caſe,) addreſs yourſelf to the people at large. By adopting this method, I am ſo ſanguine, as to aſſure myſelf of your ſucceſs; and your public character will be as illuſtrious as your perſonal

qualities are amiable to all who intimately know you. By your means the Coloniſts will long continue the farmers, planters, and ſhipwrights of Great Britain; but if the preſent courſe is perſiſted in, an internal divorce muſt inevitably take place. As to the idea of ſubduing them into ſervitude, and indemnifying yourſelves for the expence, you muſt be convinced long before this of its abſurdity.

I ſhould not, perhaps, be extravagant, if I advanced, that all the ſhips of the world would be too few to tranſport force ſufficient to conquer three millions of people, unanimouſly determined to ſacrifice every thing to liberty; but, if it were poſſible, the victory would not be leſs ruinous than the defeat. You would only deſtroy your own ſtrength. No revenue can poſſibly be exacted out of this country. The army of place-men might be encreaſed, but her circuitous commerce, founded on perfect freedom, which alone can furniſh riches to the metropolis, would fall to the ground. But the dignity of Great Britain, it ſeems, is at ſtake. Would you, Sir, if in the heat of paſſion you had ſtruck a ſingle drummer of your regiment, and afterwards diſcovered that you had done it unjuſtly, think it any forfeiture of your dignity to acknowledge the wrong? No: I am well acquainted with your diſpoſition, you would aſk him pardon at the head of your regiment.

I ſhall

I ſhall now conclude (if you will excuſe the pedantry) with a ſentence of Latin: *Juſtum eſt bellum quibus neceſſarium, et. pia arma quibus nulla, niſi in armis, relinquitur ſpes.* I moſt ſincerely wiſh you a quick and proſperous voyage, and that your happineſs and glory may be equal to the idea I have of your merits, as,

I am, with the greateſt truth and affection,

Yours,

CHARLES LEE.

Major Gen. Burgoyne.

SIR, Cambridge, 1776.

IN my letter, lately ſent into Boſton, all political diſquiſition was deſignedly avoided. I did not avail myſelf of the advantages which the ſacred cauſe of my country, of liberty, and of human nature, manifeſtly gave me over Mr. Gage. I remonſtrated with you in decent terms, with reſpect to the hard and unworthy treatment ſhewn, as I have been informed, to the ſoldiers and citizens of America, whom the fortune of war, chance, or an erroneous opinion of your honour, had thrown into your hands. In anſwer to this

remonſtrance, we are inſulted with the moſt outrageous language, and abuſive epithets. Were we, Sir, the worſt of traytors; had we conſpired to ſubvert the liberties of our fellow ſubjects; had we conſpired to re-eſtabliſh on the throne the expelled tyrants of the Stuart houſe; or, could we be charged with any notorious breach of faith; had we, for inſtance, ſeduced ſome part of the troops under your command, upon certain conditions, into a ſurrender of their arms, and afterwards violated our engagement, the ſtyle which you aſſume would ſcarcely be juſtifiable.

You affect, Sir, to deſpiſe all rank not derived from the ſame ſource with your own; to ſpeak, as I think, with becoming pride, it is impoſſible to conceive a more honourable ſource than that to which I owe my preſent ſtation. I was called to it by the voice of the freely choſen delegates of a virtuous and uncorrupt people. Yours, for ought I know, and, as I am told, is frequently the caſe, might have been obtained by connections with ſome proſtitute part of a proſtitute Houſe of Commons.

You threaten us, Sir, with a cord: Begin, Sir; I dare you to it. Although my nature ſhudders at the thought, neceſſity will force us to retaliate; and we have it in our power, Mr. Gage, to make a ten-fold retaliation.

You have the confidence to appeal to that Almighty God whoſe every law you have violated.

Let

Let that Almighty God, to whom the rights and happineſs of his creatures cannot be indifferent, judge then between us. When the great and tremendous day ſhall arrive; when all mortals are to render a ſtrict account, which, do you apprehend, Sir, will have the greateſt reaſon to tremble? The virtuous citizens, now forced to arms by the hands of tyranny; in arms not to rob, ſpoil, and invade; not as mercenary inſtruments to gratify the luſt, ambition, avarice, or revenge of ſceptered robbers or wicked miniſters, but to defend their wives, children, and houſehold goods, and to deliver down to their poſterity the bright inheritance of freedom they received from their forefathers: which, I once more demand, ſhall, on that dreadful day, have the greateſt reaſon to tremble? The citizens engaged in this righteous cauſe, or thoſe men, who by artifice, miſrepreſentation, and falſehood, have not only ſtained this fair continent with the blood of her children, but ſhaken the mighty empire of Britain to her foundation.

I ſhall now, Sir, cloſe my correſpondence with you, perhaps for ever, aſſuring you, that the intelligence you have received, with reſpect to the harſh treatment of the priſoners in our poſſeſſion, is as remote from fact, as that which you have conſtantly tranſmitted to the miniſtry, when ſpeaking of the principles and deſigns of America. Not only the officers and ſoldiers have been treated with the tenderneſs due to fellow-citizens and brethren,

but

but even thoſe execrable parricides born amongſt us, who have aimed their daggers at the vitals of their parent, have been protected from the fury of a moſt juſtly enraged people.

I ſhall now, Sir, only add, that for the future, whatever mode of conduct you ſhall think proper to obſerve towards thoſe of our people who are in your cuſtody, ſuch exactly are the miniſterialiſts to expect in return.

I am, Sir,

Your moſt obedient,

Humble ſervant,

C. LEE.

Gen. Gage.

DEAR SIR, Cambridge, 1776.

I LITTLE thought the time could ever arrive when I ſhould not run with eagerneſs to embrace Mr. Gage. Whether it is from a cynical diſpoſition, or a laudable miſanthropy, whether it is to my credit or diſcredit, I know not; but it is moſt certain, that I have had a real affection for very

few men; but that theſe few I have loved with warmth, zeal, and ardour. You, Sir, amongſt theſe few, I ſwear by all that is ſacred, have ever held one of the foremoſt places. I reſpected your underſtanding, liked your manners, and perfectly adored the qualities of your heart. Theſe, Sir, are my reaſons, paradoxical as they may appear to many, that I now avoid what I heretofore ſhould have thought an happineſs. Were you perſonally indifferent to me, I ſhould, perhaps, from curioſity, appear in the circle of your levee; but I hold in ſuch abhorrence the conduct, temper, and ſpirit of our preſent court; more particularly their preſent diabolical meaſures with reſpect to this country fills me with ſo much horror and indignation, that I cannot bear to ſee a man, from whom my affections can never be weaned, in the capacity of one of their inſtruments; as I am convinced that the court of Tiberius, or Philip the Second, were not more treacherous and hoſtile to the rights of mankind than the preſent court of Great Britain. I cannot help thinking it one of the greateſt curſes fallen on mankind, that they ſhould be endued with ſufficient art to ſeduce or delude men of the beſt hearts and heads. My Lord Chatham himſelf was for a time their dupe; and poor York was entrapped for his deſtruction. I believe, Sir, I know the tricks and inſidiouſneſs of the Cabinet better than you do. I have no doubt, but they were hard ſet to work upon you,

May

May God Almighty extricate you, with honour and ſafety, from their clutches! I know not whether the people of America will be ſucceſsful in their ſtruggles for liberty; I think it moſt probable they will, from what I have ſeen in my progreſs through the colonies. So noble a ſpirit pervades all orders of men, from the firſt eſtated gentlemen to the loweſt planters, that I think they muſt be victorious. I moſt devoutly wiſh they may; for if the machinations of their enemies prevail, the bright goddeſs, Liberty, muſt, like her ſiſter Aſtræa, utterly abandon the earth, and leave not a wreck behind. She has, by a damned conſpiracy of kings and miniſters, been totally driven from the other hemiſphere. Here is her laſt aſylum; here I hope ſhe may fix her abode.

I have now, Sir, only to entreat, that as knaves and fools will probably, from deſign and miſunderſtanding, exaggerate, diſfigure, and diſtort what I do, and what I ſay, you will be upon your guard, particularly when it relates to yourſelf. Though it is difficult to ſeparate the man from the office, ſhould it be reported that I ever ſpeak of you in terms of diſreſpect, I entreat, that you will ſlight the report. I am not capable of it. A perſonal friendſhip for Mr. Gage has taken too deep root in my breaſt; though, were you my brother, twinned at a birth, I muſt wiſh to defeat the purpoſes of thoſe by whoſe inſtructions Governor Gage muſt act.

As

As to North, my opinion of him is this, (and I have known him a long time,) that did he hear of a ſingle freeman in the remoteſt part of the world, he would willingly put his country to the expence of furniſhing forth an army and fleet for the ſole pleaſure of deſtroying that ſingle freeman. I know, Sir, you will do me the juſtice to believe that I am not acting a part; that no affectation has place in my conduct. You have known me long enough, I flatter myſelf, to be perſuaded, that zeal for the liberties of my country and the rights of mankind, has been my predominant paſſion. May God Almighty bleſs you, Sir, and, with honour to you, diſſolve the ſpell which has charmed you into a ſituation ſo incompatible with the excellence of your natural diſpoſition. Excuſe the length, and, if it appears to you, the impertinence, of this epiſtle, and believe me,

With great eſteem,

Yours,

CHARLES LEE.

Gen. Gage.

My dear Phipps,

I HAVE not for a long time read any performance with so much pleasure, as the paragraph in the public papers announcing your safe return. I congratulate your country, your friends, and particularly myself, on this happy event. As I most sincerely love and honour you, I should have been pleased, in common with all mankind, had your hopes and expectations been answered in their full extent; but, as your individual friend, I am completely satisfied; for the attempt is sufficient to immortalize you. A young man of your rank and affluent circumstances, giving up his ease, pleasure, and connections, to encounter mountains, and even to risk the taking up his residence in the thrilling regions of thick Ribbedia, for the public benefit, would have appeared heroic in any age or nation; but the inglorious insipid character of the present age heightens the lustre of the enterprize.

Once more, my dear Phipps, I congratulate you and all your friends on your safe return; and the honour which is your due, and which is not paid you at home, come to this country, where your praises are sung daily; but your political parliamentary conduct has the largest share of their panegyrick. Their opinion of your integrity, talents, and consistency, is very high; and I hope

you

you will believe that I do not labour to weaken it. By all that is ſacred, theſe are a fine people, liberal, enlightened, ſenſible and firm. Your Mansfields and Norths may play over their wretched tricks, have recourſe to their paltry fineſſes, may bluſter and bellow, but they will never be able to trick or frighten theſe men out of their liberties. They are too acute and vigilant for the former to avail, and much too ſtrong for the latter. Twelve thouſand freſh coloniſts, half Germans, half Iriſh, were imported this year into Philadelphia alone, and not a much leſs number into the colonies of Virginia and New-York. The banks of Hudſon's River, of the Mohawk, Suſquehannah, Juniatta, and the Ohio, from the Monongahela downwards thirty miles, which at the peace were totally a deſert, are become one continued chain of villages. Four large military townſhips are immediately to be eſtabliſhed on the Miſſiſſipi. I leave you to judge, whether it will be eaſy to dragoon ſo numerous a people for any length of time. Ships of war, it is true, may inſult, and put to inconvenience ſome of their capital ports; but theſe teaſings and inſults will only ſerve to ſhew the abſurdity of your miniſter's policy in a more ſtriking light, by giving a unanimity to theſe people equal to their effectual ſtrength, when they may ſet at defiance the machinations, not only of an earthly, but of the infernal potentate himſelf and his miniſtry. Egregious

gious blockheads! their folly encreaſes every day; no ſooner are they out of one bad ſcrape, but they get into a worſe.

This bleſſed tea project meets with a reſiſtance full as vigorous, though more regular and temperate than the ſtamp act. The coloniſts, one and all, have entered into the moſt ſolemn obligations to ſend it back to its exporters, and continue furniſhing themſelves from the Dutch; ſo that by the ingenuity of our miniſtry, ſmuggling is rendered an - - - - - - - - - - - -

Cætera deſunt.

SIR, Stamford, Jan. 22d, 1776.

AS General Waſhington has informed the Congreſs of his motives for detaching me, it is needleſs to trouble you upon the ſubject; I am, therefore, only to inform you, that I have collected a body of about twelve hundred men from the colony of Connecticut, whoſe zeal and ardour, demonſtrated on this occaſion, cannot be ſufficiently praiſed. With this body I am marching directly to New-York, to execute the different purpoſes for which I am detached. I am ſenſible, Sir, that nothing can carry the air of greater preſumption, than a ſervant's intruding his opinion, unaſked, upon his

his maſter; but, at the ſame time, there are certain ſeaſons when the real danger of the maſter may not only excuſe, but render laudable, the ſervant's officiouſneſs. I therefore flatter myſelf that the Congreſs will receive, with indulgence and lenity, the opinion I ſhall offer. The ſcheme of diſarming ſimply the Tories, ſeems to me totally ineffectual; it will only embitter their minds and add *virus* to their venom. They can, and will, always be ſupplied with freſh arms by the enemy. That of ſeizing the moſt dangerous will, I apprehend, from the vagueneſs of the inſtruction, be attended with ſome bad conſequences, and can anſwer no good one. It opens ſo wide a door for partiality and prejudice, to the different congreſſes and committees on the continent, that much diſcord and animoſity will probably enſue, it being next to impoſſible to diſtinguiſh who are, and who are not, the moſt dangerous. The plan of explaining to theſe deluded people the juſtice and merits of the American cauſe, is certainly generous and humane; but, I am afraid, will be fruitleſs. They are ſo rivetted in their opinions, that, I am perſuaded, ſhould an angel deſcend from heaven with his golden trumpet, and ring in their ears, that their conduct was criminal, he would be diſregarded. I had lately myſelf an inſtance of their infatuation, which, if it is not impertinent, I will relate. I took the liberty, without any authority but the conviction of the neceſſity, to adminiſter a very ſtrong oath to thoſe

of Rhode Iſland, that they would take arms in defence of their country, if called upon by the voice of the Congreſs. To this Colonel Wanton, and others, flatly refuſed their aſſent; to take arms againſt their ſovereign they ſaid was too monſtrous. This is not a criſis, when every thing is it ſtake, to be over compliant to the timidity of the inhabitants of any particular ſpot. I have now under my command a very reſpectable force adequate to the purpoſe of ſecuring the place, and purging all its environs of traitors, on which ſubject I ſhall expect, with impatience, the determination of the Congreſs; their orders I hope to receive before or immediately on my arrival.

This inſtant the incloſed expreſs from the provincial Congreſs of New-York, was delivered into my hands; but as theſe gentlemen probably are not fully apprized of the danger hanging over their heads, as I have received intelligence from camp, that the fleet is ſailed, and that it is neceſſary to urge my march, I ſhall proceed with one diviſion of the forces under my command to that city. A moment's delay may be fatal. The force I ſhall carry with me is not ſtrong enough to act offenſively; but juſt ſufficient to ſecure the city againſt any deſigns of the enemy. If this is to give umbrage, if the governor and captain of the man of war are pleaſed to conſtrue this ſtep as an act of poſitive hoſtility, if they are to preſcribe what number of your troops, and what number not, are

to

to enter the city, all I can ſay is, that New-York muſt be conſidered as the miniſter's place, and not the continent's.

I muſt now, Sir, beg pardon for the length of this letter, and more ſo, for the preſumption in offering ſo freely my thoughts to the Congreſs, from whom it is my duty ſimply to receive my orders, and as a ſervant and ſoldier ſtrictly to obey, which none can do with greater ardor and affection than,

Sir,

Your moſt obedient humble ſervant,

CHARLES LEE.

The
Hon. John Hancock, Eſq.
Preſ. of the
Continental Congreſs.

SIR, New-York, March 5th, 1776.

I RECEIVED your commands on Sunday evening, and ſhould have anſwered it immediately, but waited for the reſult of an application I had made to Waterbury's and Ward's regiment, requeſting them to remain here until they can be replaced by a certain number of troops from Philadelphia, and the Jerſeys. They have unanimouſly

conſented to ſtay till the twenty-fifth of this month, which is a fortnight longer than the term they were enliſted for. Before the expiration of this time, I am in hopes that ſome meaſures will be taken by the Congreſs for throwing into the city, its environs, and Long Iſland, a force ſufficient to diſpute the ground with any number of troops we have reaſon to expect; not that I would imply that theſe two Connecticut regiments remaining here would be able to prevent the landing and lodging themſelves in the iſland, even five battalions of the enemy, ſhould they chuſe to attempt it; but thoſe two regiments will enable us at leaſt to lay the foundation of the neceſſary works. I have ordered a regiment from the Jerſeys, who will be here I hope in a few days. I ſhall not, Sir, trouble you with a detail of our intended works, as I ſhall have the power of paying my reſpects in perſon to the Congreſs in a very few days, for on Thurſday it is my intention to ſet out. I am in very little pain about the execution of what we have concerted, as it is committed to the hands of Lord Stirling, who ſhews much intelligence and activity. As this place will probably be the ſcene of a good deal of action, it would be prudent to add ſomething to their preſent ſtock of ammunition. I find by their returns, that there is in the whole colony, that ſent up to Fort Conſtitution included, five tons and an half.

The numerous body of profeſſed Tories in Long

and

and Staten Iſlands, with not a few within the walls of the city, is a moſt alarming conſideration; the meaſures adopted by the Provincial Congreſs, of obliging them to give bonds as a ſecurity for their good behaviour, can anſwer no purpoſe, but that of rendering them more bitter and violent. The firſt regiment of our gracious ſovereign's cut-throats which arrive here will indubitably cancel theſe bonds. I am well aſſured, indeed, that theſe bonds are made a public joke of already, by the worthy gentlemen who gave them. In ſhort, the friends to liberty are to a man convinced, that the Tories will take up arms, when encouraged by the appearance of any royal troops. The delicacy of of our ſituation, the dangerous criſis of affairs, have therefore determined me to take a deciſive ſtep, which alone, according to my judgment, can ſecure us: I have propoſed to offer to theſe people a teſt, drawn up in ſuch terms, that refuſal or conſent to take it, muſt be a criterion by which we may be able to diſtinguiſh thoſe, whoſe ſwords are whetted to plunge into the vitals of their country, and whoſe, if not drawn in defence of the common rights, may be expected to remain quietly in their ſcabbards. The firſt I have directed to be ſeized without further ceremony, and I ſhould think myſelf highly criminal, in omitting ſo ſalutary a ſtep before it is too late; perhaps I judge wrong; if I do, I muſt myſelf take the ſhame of being reputed weak, raſh, and precipitate. The

intelligence I have received from General Waſhington will, at all events, juſtify, in ſome meaſure, my diſpenſing with forms.

I am, Sir, with the greateſt reſpect,

Your moſt obedient humble ſervant,

CHARLES LEE.

To his Excellency
The Preſ. of the
Continental Congreſs.

My dear Sir, Williamſburg, April 3d, 1776.

I HAVE nothing of ſufficient importance to trouble the Congreſs with; but ſhall teaze you with a few words; I am exactly in the ſame ſituation I expected, puzzled where to go, or fix myſelf, from an uncertainty of the enemy's deſign: I can therefore only act by ſurmiſe; the general opinion is, that they will aim at this part of Virginia, viz. York and Williamſburg, or that they will fix their head quarters in North Carolina: it has been already aſſerted, that Mr. Clinton was landed with one thouſand five hundred men at Wilmington; a letter

letter from Brigadier Howe, dated from Edenton, ſays, that it is believed, but not aſcertained. I wait for further intelligence; in the mean time, I ſhall employ myſelf in rendering this place, and York, as inacceſſible as poſſible; for it is my own perſuaſion, that they will endeavour to poſſeſs themſelves of the capitol, not only as it is really a moſt tempting and advantageous poſt, from commanding two rivers, and a moſt abundant country; but it would give an air of ſuperiority and dignity to their arms, which in this ſlave-country might be attended with important conſequences, by the impreſſions it would make in the minds of the negroes. I wiſh we had a couple of good regiments more in South Carolina, it would then be perhaps *hors inſult*. The apathy of this province ſeems to go *paſſibus æquis*, with that of ſome other provinces, notwithſtanding the perſuaſion and aſſurances of all the officers, that the Tories about Norfolk will moſt certainly repair to the King's ſtandard, and have propoſed means of ſecuring them; they ſay, ſuch means would be violent and cruel. In ſhort, as your affairs proſper, the timidity of the ſenatorial part of the continent, great and ſmall, grows and extends itſelf. By the eternal God, unleſs you declare yourſelves independent, eſtabliſh a more certain and fixed legiſlature than that of a temporary courteſy of the people, you richly deſerve to be enſlaved, and I think it far from impoſſible that it ſhould be your lot; as without a more

ſyſtematical intercourſe with France and Holland, we cannot, we have not the means of carrying on the war.

Adieu,

Yours, &c.

To
Edw. Rutledge, Eſq.
Member of the
Continental Congreſs.

C. LEE.

SIR, Williamſburg, April 5th, 1776.

THE ſubject of this letter appearing to me of exceeding importance, I have reſolved to diſpatch an expreſs to inform you, that the Roebuck, a King's ſhip of forty-four guns, has for ſome time left the Capes of Virginia, and, as we hear, is now lying off the Bay of Delaware, with a deſign to intercept the continental fleet. At Norfolk remain the Liverpool, a thirty gun frigate; the Otter ſloop of fourteen guns, and ſome tenders, together with a ſhip, Lord Dunmore on board, of little or no force; and a number of veſſels belonging to the Tories, with valuable cargoes and prizes, amounting,

amounting, by a reaſonable eſtimate, to an hundred and forty thouſand pounds ſterling: If Mr. Hopkins is at Cape Fear, would it not be a good meaſure to inform him, how ſure a prey theſe ſhips at Norfolk, with their immence treaſure of goods, arms, ammunition, and other military ſtores would be to him, were he to come into the Capes of Virginia? It is not probable our fleet can keep the ſea much longer, a number of Britiſh ſhips of war being expected ſoon on the American coaſt; this laſt mentioned ſtroke would then be a glorious concluſion; and if it ſhould be neceſſary afterwards to keep in a ſafe harbour, by erecting a battery at the mouth of the river leading to Norfolk, the navy of Great Britain might be, from the nature of the navigation, prevented from getting up. I am extremely anxious to know the ſtate of your province, and of the ſtate, number, and quality, of your troops; any aſſiſtance which can be afforded you by this province, as far as depends on me, you may command. I ſhould have ſet out before this, for your province, but the confuſion, diſorder, and deficiences of Virginia, oblige me to paſs a few more days in my preſent quarters.

I am, Sir, with the greateſt reſpect,

Your moſt obedient humble ſervant,

C. LEE.

To
The Hon. the Preſ. of the
Council of Safety,
North Carolina.

DEAR SIR, Williamſburg, April 6th, 1776,

AS I know not to whom I can addreſs this moſt important note, with ſo much propriety and aſſurance of ſucceſs as to yourſelf, the criſis will not admit of ceremony and procraſtination; I ſhall, therefore, irregularly addreſs you in the language and with the ſpirit of one bold determined free citizen to another; and conjure you, as you value the liberties and rights of the community of which you are a member, not to loſe a moment, and in my name, if my name is of conſequence enough, to direct the commanding officer of your troops at Annapolis, immediately to ſeize the perſon of governor Eden; the ſin and blame be on my head. I will anſwer for all to the Congreſs. The juſtice and neceſſity of the meaſure will be beſt explained by the packet, tranſmitted to you by the Committee of Safety from this place. God Almighty give us wiſdom and vigor in this hour of trial.

Dear Sir,

Yours, moſt affectionately,

CHARLES LEE.

To
Samuel Purviance, Eſq.
Chairman of the Committee.

SIR, Williamſburg, April 8th, 1776.

NOT only propriety and decency, but an earneſt deſire to act in concert with ſo reſpectable a body, as the Committee of Safety, enjoin me to lay before them my thoughts, on ſome meaſures neceſſary for the defence and very being of the colony.

After having conſidered the number and quality of your troops, the ſtate and condition of your arms, artillery, and ordnance apparatus, the weakneſs and diſadvantages you labour under from the numerous interſecting rivers, the multitude of your ſlaves, &c. I ſuppoſe to myſelf, that the enemy will make this province their immediate object; and ſince the defeat of their ſchemes in North Carolina, by Colonel Caſwel, it is the moſt natural ſuppoſition. I ſay, Sir, after having conſidered your ſtrength and weakneſs, no circumſtance appears to me ſo ſeriouſly alarming as the diſpoſition and ſituation of the inhabitants of the lower counties, Norfolk, and Princeſs Ann; but that I might not reſt entirely on my own opinion, I have called together ſome of the field officers who are beſt acquainted with that diſtrict, and they unanimouſly agree, that it will be difficult, if not impoſſible, to ſecure and preſerve the province, unleſs theſe inhabitants, thus dangerouſly diſpoſed, are removed from the very ſpot where they can do ſuch infinite

infinite miſchief. I am ſenſible, Sir, that their removal muſt be attended with very conſiderable difficulties, and perhaps much diſtreſs to individuals; but when the preſervation and being of the province, if not of the whole continent, are at ſtake, were theſe difficulties and diſtreſſes a thouſand times greater, they muſt be ſubmitted to. I am in hopes, therefore, that the gentlemen of the Committee will immediately deviſe ſome means for removing theſe people, as well as their ſtock: at leaſt their wives and children ſhould be carried to a place of ſecurity, as hoſtages for the good behaviour of the huſbands and fathers. I ſhould be extremely ſorry to find myſelf under the neceſſity of deſtroying all their cattle, ſtore, and granaries; and forcing the inhabitants, at the point of the bayonet, from their homes; but unleſs their removal can be accompliſhed by ſome other means, I ſhall be conſtrained to theſe harſh methods; as otherwiſe, I cannot be anſwerable for the execution of the important truſt committed to my hands.

I am, Sir,

With the greateſt reſpect,

Your moſt obedient humble ſervant,

CHARLES LEE.

To
The Hon. the Preſ.
of the
Committee of Safety.

SIR, Williamſburg, April 19th, 1776.

THE diſagreeable uncertainty I have been in, of the enemies' deſigns, from the circumſtance of their being able to fly in their ſhips from one ſpot to another, hath kept me at Williamſburg. It is evident that their original intention was againſt North Carolina, but the apparently total overthrow of their whole ſcheme by Colonel Caſwell's victory, makes it more probable that they will bend their courſe to ſome other quarter; whether to this province, or South Carolina, it is impoſſible to divine. I am myſelf more inclined to think that this will be their object, as the numerous interſecting navigable waters preſent them ſuch ſuperior advantages; though, at the ſame time, I confeſs myſelf in great pain for South Carolina; the force in that province ſeems alarmingly ſmall. I wiſh I could afford to detach from hence at leaſt three battalions; but neither our numbers of men, the ſtate and condition of our arms, nor the vaſt extent of this province open to attack, will admit of the thought. If Pennſylvania could ſpare three or four battalions for the defence of Virginia, Virginia or North Carolina might detach the ſame number to South Carolina; and as the army which was employed in the blockade of Boſton is now ſet at liberty, I ſhould imagine this force might be afforded us.

We

We are ſo extremely deficient in arms, that I have been under the neceſſity of ſending an officer into the back parts of the country to purchaſe all the rifles he can procure for the continental ſervice. The arrangement I have made of arming two companies of each battalion with ſpears, will render muſquets and bayonets leſs neceſſary; and the eaſe I find in reconciling the men to theſe kind of arms, is a flattering ſymptom of their ſpirit. The price of theſe rifles, I am told, will be five pounds each; but as the article of cartouches and bayonets will be ſaved, upon the whole, they will not be more, if ſo expenſive.

The defence and ſecurity of the capital rivers, with their creeks, is an object of ſo great importance, that I have thought it neceſſary to direct as great a number of half gallies as poſſible, to be conſtructed with the utmoſt expedition; but as the carpenters and other artificers in this country are ſo lazy a race of mortals, that it is in vain to expect any fruits from their labours, unleſs there is a coerſive power over them, I thought it the ſureſt and ſafeſt method to eſtabliſh two companies of carpenters on the ſame terms with thoſe in the Jerſeys; the meaſure is abſolutely neceſſary, and I flatter myſelf it will prove œconomy.

The nature of the ſervice here is ſuch, the force not being collected into one point, but ſcattered in fragments, that a greater number of ſub-

ordinate

ordinate ſtaff officers are requiſite than in the Northern and Eaſtern armies. I have therefore taken the liberty, till the pleaſure of the Congreſs is further known, to appoint a few who could not be diſpenſed with: incloſed is a liſt of them.

The Committee of Safety, I find, Sir, had not apprized you of their having already raiſed a company of artillery, and appointed officers. Captain Innes, who was placed at the head of it, though he profeſſes himſelf utterly ignorant of this particular branch, is a man of great zeal, capacity and merit; and as there is a vacant majority in the ninth, or captain Flemming's regiment, I have ventured to appoint him to act in that ſtation, in hopes that the Congreſs will confirm his commiſſion. A body of horſe is a *ſine qua non* in a country circumſtanced like this; I take the liberty of encloſing you an addreſs I publiſhed to the young gentlemen of this colony on the ſubject, and wiſh it may meet with your approbation.

I ſhall make Monſieur Arundel accountable for the ſixty dollars, but at the ſame time beg leave to ſubmit to the conſideration of the Congreſs, whether the expences of his journey ſhould not be allowed; they amount to thirty dollars: indeed the pay of the artillery officers and engineers is ſo wretched, that I do not ſee any chance of procuring men fit for the ſervice on the terms; and if they are procured, they cannot poſſibly

ſubſiſt,

ſubſiſt, unleſs the expences of their frequent journeys are paid; for they are obliged, from the nature of their buſineſs, to make more journeys than other officers, and not in corps, but ſingly; I have been obliged to ſubſiſt Baron Maſſenburg, as likewiſe to furniſh Captain Smith, who is now at York, with money for his expences.

I am, Sir, with the greateſt reſpect,

Your moſt obedient humble ſervant,

CHARLES LEE.

His Excellency
John Hancock, Preſ.
of the
Continental Congreſs.

Sir, Williamſburg, April 19, 1776.

AS I am an entire ſtranger to the character, integrity, and abilities of individuals in this country, I muſt requeſt the gentlemen of the committee will appoint, or recommend poſitively, a proper perſon as commiſſary. He ſhould be a man of activity without doubt; but his integrity

is

is ſtill more important, as he has it in his power, if inclined, to rob the public moſt horribly.

I am, Sir, with the greateſt reſpect,

Your moſt obedient ſervant,

CHARLES LEE.

John Page, Eſq. V. P.
of the Committee.

SIR, Suffolk, April 23d, 1776.

YOU are to march this night to Brickels: Leave the entrenching tools under the care of the commanding officer of that poſt, with directions to fortify, as well as he is able, a poſt capable of containing three hundred men. To-morrow you are to proceed to Portſmouth with all the waggons; you are to poſt your party in ſuch an advantageous ſituation, that no inſult from the enemy can be apprehended. You are to ſecure Shedden's, and Mitchel's effects, and ſend them up immediately. You are to ſecure the perſons of Jarvia, Muter, and Mitchel, as well as their effects; Mrs. Grimes, with her effects, are likewiſe

immediately to be ſent up. You are to procure the beſt intelligence what men are on board Lord Dunmore's fleet, who have families at Portſmouth; the wives and children of theſe men are to be ſent up to Suffolk immediately. You are to apprize the reſt of the inhabitants that they muſt quit Portſmouth in five days; that waggons ſhall be allowed for their beds, cloaths, and abſolute neceſſary cooking utenſils; their tables, chairs, and other cooking utenſils, cannot be carried off at the public expence.

All the negroes capable of bearing arms to be ſecured immediately, and ſent up to Suffolk. Mr. Bownas and Company's property is to be collected and brought out of their preſent dangerous ſituation.

You are to order any detachment you ſhall meet with, from Colonel Fipp's corps, immediately to return to their command.

CHARLES LEE, Major General.

To
Colonel Mughlenburg.

Sir, Williamſburg, May 4th, 1776.

THE committee will, I hope excuſe my not having yeſterday made a report to them (as I think it

it my duty,) of every tranſaction which is not merely military; but they were ſo much employed in the buſineſs of the Princeſs Ann petition, that I thought it better not to enter on the ſubject. As I found that the inhabitants of Portſmouth had univerſally taken the oath to Lord Dunmore, and as that town was, I believe, juſtly conſidered as the great channel through which his Lordſhip received the moſt exact and minute intelligence of all our motions and deſigns, I thought it incumbent on me, and agreeable to the ſpirit of your inſtructions, to remove the people without exception; for even the women and children had learnt the art, and practiſed with addreſs, the office of ſpies. A conſiderable quantity of very valuable articles were found in the houſes of Mrs. Sprowle, Goodrich, and Nuil Jamieſon, ſuch as molaſſes, ſalt, and other things much wanted for the public. A liſt of theſe articles will be made out by the officer commanding the party, and laid before your board.

As the town of Portſmouth will afford ſo convenient ſhelter and quarters to refreſh the enemy, on a ſuppoſition that they make this part of the world their object, it would perhaps be politic to deſtroy it totally; but the houſes of ſome of the moſt notorious traitors I thought abſolutely neceſſary to demoliſh, in hopes of intimidating the neighbourhood from trifling any longer, and flying in the face of your ordinances; for it is in-

conceiveable, unleſs I have been groſsly miſinformed, into what barefaced open intercourſe with the enemy they had been encouraged by no examples having been made. Sprowle's, Goodrich's, Jamieſon's and Skeddan's houſes were on this principle deſtroyed; the laſt, Skeddan, now a priſoner at Suffolk, accuſed, and, I believe, convicted, of having been on board Lord Dunmore's fleet, ſince his acquittal by the committee of Norfolk. As we had undoubted intelligence that the fleet and army of Lord Dunmore were amply and regularly ſupplied with proviſions and refreſhments of every kind, from that tract of country lying between the Southern and Eaſtern branches, as well as from Tanner's Creek, notwithſtanding the poſitive ordinances levelled againſt this ſpecies of treaſon; and as from a habit of any ſort of action, be it ever ſo heinous, he who commits it, infallably, in the end, perſuades himſelf there is no crime in it at all: ſo theſe worthies not only every day openly and conſtantly carried on this dangerous commerce, but it is ſaid juſtified it in their converſation; it, therefore, Sir, in my opinion, as well as of the other officers, and the committee of gentlemen from Suffolk, became indiſpenſably neceſſary to take ſome vigorous ſteps on the ſpot, which might intimidate the whole knot of theſe miſcreants from their pernicious traffic.

A Mr. Hopkins, infamous for his principles and

conduct, and who has a ſon, now a ſoldier in Dunmore's army, was fortunately the firſt man detected; he was ſeized in his return from the fleet. He prevaricated and perjured himſelf very handſomely on the occaſion; but at length the fact was proved, and he confeſſed. The ſentiments of the committee and other officers concurring with my own, we determined, after having ſeized his furniture, to ſet his houſe on fire in his preſence: This ſtep was not quite conſiſtent with the regular mode of proceeding; but there are occaſions, when the neceſſity will excuſe deviations, and this I hope will appear to the committee to be one of theſe occaſions. I muſt here, Gentlemen, beg leave to repeat my aſſurances, that if ever in my military capacity, I ſhould fall into any meaſure, which is more properly within the province of the civil, it will entirely proceed from miſtake, or inadvertency, never from deſign; and upon theſe occaſions, ſo far from being offended by the admonition, or even reprimand, of your committees, I ſhall think myſelf obliged to them.

I am, Sir, with the greateſt reſpect,

Your moſt obedient humble ſervant,

CHARLES LEE.

To
Edmund Pendleton,
Preſ. of the
Comm. of Safety.

SIR, Wliliamſburg, May 7th, 1776.

I FIND the part I have acted in the buſineſs of Mr. Eden, has given great umbrage to the council of Maryland; I take the liberty of encloſing a copy of my letter to that board on the occaſion; as I hope it will appear to the Congreſs, a full explanation and juſtification of my conduct, I ſhall not trouble them any more on the ſubject.

Five tranſports with troops are arrived at Cape Fear; I ſhall therefore ſet out on Thurſday for Wilmington, by the way of Halliſax. When we conſider, Sir, the vaſt extent of the vulnerable parts of this country; the numerous navigable interſecting waters, the multitude of ſlaves; that we have not more than five thouſand regulars fit for duty in the province; that of theſe five thouſand not more than three are properly armed; that to arm them, defective as they are, the province has been drove to the neceſſity of diſarming the minute men; I ſay, Sir, that when theſe circumſtances are conſidered, I ſhall appear, I hope, reaſonable, in entreating the Congreſs to ſpare us, if poſſible, ſome battalions, and of thoſe battalions which are beſt armed. If indeed our minute men were properly furniſhed with muſquets and ammunition; if our rivers were already ſecured in the manner I propoſe; I ſhould think myſelf capable of baffling all their attempts with our preſent force; but ſituated as we are, my anxiety for the common

common ſafety obliges me to ſolicit a reinforcement. A letter from one of your members informs me, that five thouſand blankets, and five thouſand pair of ſhoes, are on the road for the uſe of this army; they were much wanted; the number is, I believe, ſufficient. We are, as I obſerved before, wretchedly in want of medicines, as well as of a director to our hoſpital. Doctor M'Clurg is a very able man, and univerſally eſteemed, qualified for the office: the pay of the regimental ſurgeons eſtabliſhed by Congreſs is ſo low, that it is in this part of the world, where the common country practice of ſurgery is ſingularly lucrative, impoſſible to find capable men, who will accept; but I am in hopes that the convention will make ſuch additions out of the provincial purſe, as to enable us to fill the commiſſions with proper and competent perſons: Now I am on the ſubject of pay, Sir, I muſt beg leave to urge the neceſſity of conſiderably increaſing that of the engineers. It is impoſſible that men, qualified for this important office, ſhould be prevailed upon to ſerve on ſuch miſerable terms. You have no American engineers; they muſt of courſe be foreigners; and foreigners expect, in their language, *de quoi manger*, that is, ſomething which will enable them to eat and drink. Twenty dollars per month will not enable them to eat and drink, and wear linen, or indeed any kind of cloaths; beſides, it muſt be conſidered, that theſe gentlemen

are obliged, by the nature of their duty, to make more journeys than any other officers; that horſes muſt be purchaſed and fed; that the expences of travelling in theſe Southern provinces are very high: from theſe reaſons, and many others, the pay of engineers ought to be, as it is in all other ſervices, greater than that of other officers. Upon the whole, Sir, I really do not think that they ought or can do with leſs than forty dollars per month, and rations at leaſt for their horſes. On more moderate terms I am purſuaded you cannot procure men equal to the taſk: as the corps is diſtinct, and not numerous, this neceſſary addition of pay will be an expence beneath the conſideration of Congreſs.

Colonel Richard Henry Lee informs me, that it was not the intention of the Congreſs that Captain Innis's company ſhould be reduced, to make way for Arundel's; but they ſhould both be eſtabliſhed. I think, Sir, it would a uſeleſs expence. Captain Innis, who muſt, I am ſure, be an excellent officer in any other department, profeſſed himſelf ignorant of this branch; his officers were equally ignorant: Arundel has got poſſeſſion of the company, and by his activity and knowledge will, I am perſuaded, make them fit for ſervice. Indeed, to eſtabliſh an artillery company, captain, ſubalterns, and non-commiſſioned officers, being entirely compoſed of novices, can anſwer no end or purpoſe. It is my opinion, there-

therefore, Sir, that inſtead of theſe two companies propoſed, that the addition of thirty or forty men to Captain Arundel's, and two ſubaltern officers, will not only be better, but that it promiſes more advantage to the ſervice.

As I am on the ſubject of Captain Arundel, I beg leave to remind the Congreſs of what I mentioned on the ſubject of his expences on the road: There is one circumſtance of which, Sir, I could wiſh to be aſcertained; it is the expence of the defence of theſe rivers, that is, the conſtruction of row gallies, floating batteries, &c. to be brought to the account of the continent or of the province? I wiſh to be informed on this head: if it is at the expence of the latter, I ſhall regularly propoſe to the Convention, or Committee of Safety, every ſcheme which may be attended with expence before it is entered upon. If the quarter maſter-general, or his deputies, when they diſpatch any teams from Philadelphia with powder, or other neceſſaries, were to purchaſe the horſes throughout, for the continental uſe, inſtead of hiring them, the ſaving would be conſiderable; for in this country the hire is intolerably dear; ſo great indeed, that I have ventured to order a number of teams to be purchaſed.

I have juſt received a vague return of the forces of North Carolina, of their powder and cannon; it does not appear that they have effective regulars, properly armed, more than two thouſand;

ſand; of powder than two tun and an half; and as to cannon, they are almoſt totally deſtitute. As the enemy's advanced guard, if I may ſo expreſs myſelf, is actually arrived, I muſt, I cannot avoid detaching the ſtrongeſt battalion we have to their aſſiſtance; but, I own, I tremble at the ſame time at the thoughts of ſtripping this province of any part of its inadequate force. I am puzzled how to direct my motions from the uncertainty of the enemies' plan, but not diſpirited, as I am confident that the Congreſs will afford me every relief in their power, and am not in the leaſt diffident of the courage and zeal of the men and officers. I have, as yet, heard nothing of Mr. Stabler the engineer; I ought, in fact, to have at leaſt half a dozen; for we have a variety of poſts to throw up, and there is not a man or officer in the army that knows the difference between a *chevaux de frieze* and a cabbage garden. I wiſh the Congreſs would indulge me with Mr. Smith, whom I know to be an able and active man.

I am, Sir, with the greateſt reſpect,

Your moſt obedient,

Humble ſervant,

CHARLES LEE.

His Excellency
John Hancock, Eſq.
Preſ. of the Con. Congreſs.

Sir,

SIR, Williamſburgh, May 9th, 1776.

AS I am obliged, by the arrival of the enemy, to repair to North Carolina, and am not leſs prompted by my zeal and affection for this province, than obliged by my duty, to take every precaution for its ſafety before my departure: on this principle, I beg leave to lay before the Convention the following meaſures, which I conceive to be neceſſary:

1ſt. To deviſe ſome means for eſtabliſhing a corps of cavalry; without which, an army is ſo extremely defective in every part of the world, and in none more than in this, for reaſons which it might be tedious to enumerate.

2dly. Without delay to order ſome able pilots of every river, to examine accurately the narroweſt part of the channel of each river; what is the nature of the ſhoals which form theſe channels; whether they are ſolid, firm ſand, gravel, or rock; what is the diſtance of the neareſt part of the channel from either ſhore; what is the nature of the ſhore; whether it is high or low; for I am ſanguine enough to hope, when theſe circumſtances are aſcertained, the navigation of moſt of the rivers may be ſhut up to the enemy, by means of batteries, either floating or fixed.

3dly. As theſe purpoſes cannot be effected without a large body of carpenters, ſmiths, and artificers

ficers of every ſort, to eſtabliſh ſome companies of them, ſubject to the military laws; for, without a coerſive power, it is difficult in this part of the world to prevail on them to work.

4thly. As I underſtand there are prodigious ſtocks of ſheep and cattle on the iſlands near the eaſtern ſhore, and as my authority does not extend to whatever concerns property, that you will order immediately all this ſtock to be tranſported to the continent; and if this is impracticable, to kill them, as otherwiſe they muſt indiſputably fall into the hands of the enemy.

5thly. As the eaſtern counties are, from their great abundance of all the neceſſaries of life, ſo tempting objects to the incurſions of the enemy, and as I underſtand there will be no difficulty in procuring good men, I would humbly propoſe to the Convention, to augment Colonel Fleming's regiment to the ſame ſtrength of numbers with the other battalions.

I muſt now, Sir, beg leave to mention to the gentlemen of the Convention, a very important matter of conſideration; no leſs than the preſervation of the lives of your ſoldiers. The continental allowance to ſurgeons and ſurgeon's-mates of the regiments is ſo miſerably ſmall, and, at the ſame time, the common country practice of ſurgeons is ſo very lucrative in this province, that it is not poſſible to find men qualified for the ſtation who will accept; and as I cannot venture to propoſe,

to

to the Continental Congreſs, the increaſe of the pay of the ſurgeons of the whole army, merely becauſe this encreaſe is neceſſary in my diviſion, I muſt ſubmit it to the judgment of the Convention, whether ſuch an addition, as to bring up the pay of theſe gentlemen to the original provincial ordinance, will not be money well and neceſſarily expended.

I am, Sir, with the greateſt reſpect,

Yours,

CHARLES LEE.

To
Edmund Pondleton, Eſq.
Preſident of the Convention.

DEAR SIR, Williamſburgh, March 25th, 1776.

I KNOW not whether, in the whole courſe of my life, I ever read any thing which ſo much moved my pity and indignation as the late declaration, profeſſion of faith, or political creed, (for I confeſs I am at a loſs what title to give it,) of the Convention of Maryland. The inſtruction of your aſſembly to their delegates (which, *inter nos*, was a moſt wretched piece of buſineſs) was Roman

man magnanimity comparatively with this ſnivelling production from Annapolis. They declare, that they ſhall eſteem ſeparation from Great Britain as the laſt of misfortunes.

There is a ſtory of a Morocco ſlave, in the reign of Muley Iſhmael, who puſhed his loyalty ſo far, that when the monarch, in the *gaite de cœur*, had plunged his dagger into his breaſt, he drew it out, and moſt loyally preſented it again to his ſacred maſter, who as royally, by a ſecond ſtroke, diſpatched him. This ſtory is ſcarcely credible, but the poſſibility of the fact is now verified by the conduct of the Houſe of Convention of *Maryland*. What! when an attempt has been made to rob you and your poſterity of your birth-rights; when your fields have been laid waſte, your towns have been burnt, and your citizens butchered; when your property is ſeized and confiſcated in all parts of the world; when an inexorable tyrant, an abandoned parliament, and a corrupt puſilanimous people, have formed an helliſh league to rob you of every thing men hold moſt dear; is it poſſible that there ſhould be creatures who march on two legs, and call themſelves human, who can be ſo deſtitute of ſentiment, courage, and feeling, as ſobbingly to proteſt, they ſhall conſider ſeparation from theſe butchers and robbers as the laſt of misfortunes? Oh, I could brain you with your ladies fans!

ORDERS,

Charles-town, June 19th, 1776.

ORDERS.

AS it now appears almoſt a certainty, (from the intelligence of ſome deſerters,) that the enemy's intention is to make an attack on the city; and as the General is confident, that the numbers and ſpirit of the garriſon will prevent their landing, it only remains to guard againſt the injury which the city may receive from their cannon.

The continental troops, provincials, and militia, are, therefore, moſt earneſtly conjured to work with no leſs alacrity, than fight with courage. Courage alone will not ſuffice in war; true ſoldiers and magnanimous citizens muſt brandiſh the pick-axe and ſpade, as well as the ſword, in defence of their country: one or two days labour, at this critical juncture, may not only ſave many worthy families from ruin, but many worthy individuals from loſs of limbs and life. On this principle the General does not, ſimply in his capacity of commanding officer, order, but entreat the whole garriſon, (thoſe on the neceſſary duties excepted,) to exert themſelves in forwarding the requiſite works of protection.

The

The colonels or commanding officers of the corps are to review their men's arms this evening at roll calling; to take care they are in as good order as poſſible, and that they are furniſhed with good flints. The officers commanding the different guards are to do the ſame with their reſpective guards.

For the future it muſt be obſerved, as an eſtabliſhed rule, that no artillery officer fires a ſingle cannon without previouſly acquainting the General.

Fort Sullivan, June 24th, 1776.

GENERAL LEE poſitively orders, that the ſcreen behind the aperture of the traverſe be immediately begun and finiſhed with all poſſible expedition; that a breaſt-work of timber, ſix feet high, be raiſed on the rampart, ſo as to form a continuation of the traverſe; that a banquet be raiſed behind the traverſe, ſo as to enable the muſquetry to fire over. The preſent work round the near guard room to be conſiderably ſtrengthened; the parapet raiſed, and the ditch deeper and wider; a ſcreen to be thrown up behind the entrance; a facade of facines, or old timber, is neceſſary to keep up the light ſand, of which the breaſt-work of this rear-guard is compoſed.

SIR,

SIR, Charles-town, June 21ſt, 1776.

IT is a certain truth, that the enemy entertain a moſt fortunate apprehenſion of American rifle-men. It is equally certain, that nothing can diminiſh this aprehenſion ſo infallibly as a frequent ineffectual fire. It is with ſome concern, therefore, that I am informed, that your men have been ſuffered to fire at a moſt prepoſterous diſtance. Upon this principle I muſt entreat, and inſiſt that you conſider it as a ſtanding order, that not a man under your command is to fire at a greater diſtance than one hundred and fifty yards, at the utmoſt: in ſhort, that they never fire without almoſt a moral certainty of hitting their object. Diſtant firing has a double bad effect; it encourages the enemy, and adds to the pernicious perſuaſion of the American ſoldiers, *viz.* *That they are no match for their antagoniſts at cloſe fighting.* To ſpeak plainly, it is almoſt a ſure method of making them cowards. Once more I muſt requeſt, that a ſtop be put to this childiſh, vicious, and ſcandalous practice. I extend the rule to thoſe who have the care of the field pieces; four hundred yards is the greateſt diſtance they ſhould be allowed to fire at. A tranſgreſſion of this rule will be conſidered as the effect of flurry and want of courage.

Thoſe who are accuſed of tranſgreſſing, will be proceeded againſt, as acting from theſe principles.

I have, Sir, the greateſt opinion of your good ſenſe and ſpirit, and flatter myſelf, that you will not only iſſue orders of reſtriction on this head, but that you will be attentive that they are vigorouſly put in execution.

I am, Sir,

Your moſt obedient,

Humble ſervant,

CHARLES LEE.

To
Col. Thompſon.

P. S. I am likewiſe informed, that your men paſs without order, or orders, to Long Iſland. Is this wiſe? Is it ſoldier like? Is it to ſhew the enemy where our weakneſs is?

Sir, Charles-town, July 2d, 1776.

I SHOULD have done myſelf the honour ſooner of informing the Congreſs of the attack made by the enemy's ſquadron on Sullivan's Iſland, and their repulſe; but conjectured, that by waiting a day or two, I might probably be furniſhed with the

the means of ſending a more minute, full, and ſatisfactory account. My conjecture was right; for yeſterday five ſeamen made their eſcape, one of whom is a more intelligent fellow than is commonly found amongſt men of his level. Incloſed is a copy of their narrative; ſome parts of it are, perhaps, too whimſical and trivial to merit the attention of Congreſs, but I think it my duty to preſent it as it is, without adding or curtailing a circumſtance. I think, Sir, I may venture to congratulate the Congreſs on the event: not only the advantages muſt be conſiderable, but the affair reflects no ſmall credit on the American arms.

On Friday, about eleven o'clock, the Commodore, with his whole ſquadron, conſiſting of two line of battle-ſhips and ſix frigates, the rates of which are marked in the incloſed narrative, anchored at leſs than half muſket ſhot from the fort, and commenced one of the moſt furious and inceſſant fires I ever ſaw or heard. It was manifeſtly their plan to land at the ſame time their whole regulars at the eaſt end of the iſland, and, of courſe, inveſt the fort by land and ſea. As the garriſon was compoſed entirely of raw troops, both men and officers; as I knew their ammunition was ſhort; and as the bridge by which we could reinforce, or call off the troops from the iſland, was unfiniſhed, you may eaſily conceive my anxiety. It was ſo great, that I was in ſuſpence whether I

ſhould evacuate it or no. Fortunately, while I was in this ſtate of ſuſpence, ſome ammunition arrived from the town, and my aid de camp, Mr. Byrd, returning from the iſland with a flattering report of the garriſon's ſpirit, I determined to ſupport it at all hazards. On this principle I thought it my duty to croſs over to the iſland, to encourage the garriſon by my preſence; but I might have ſaved myſelf that trouble; for I found, on my arrival, they had no occaſion for any ſort of encouragement: I found them determined and cool to the laſt degree: their behaviour would, in fact, have done honour to the oldeſt troops. I beg leave, Sir, therefore, to recommend, in the ſtrongeſt terms, to the Congreſs, the commanding officer, Colonel Moultrie, and his whole garriſon, as brave ſoldiers and excellent citizens; nor muſt I omit, at the ſame time, mentioning Colonel Thompſon, who, with the South Carolina rangers and a detachment of the North Carolina regulars, repulſed the enemy in two ſeveral attempts to make a lodgment at the other extremity of the iſland.

Our loſs, conſidering the heat and duration of the fire, was inconſiderable: we had only ten men killed on the ſpot and twenty-two wounded; ſeven of whom loſt their limbs, but with their limbs they did not loſe their ſpirits; for they enthuſiaſtically encouraged their comrades never to abandon the ſtandard of liberty and their country.

country. This, I do aſſure you, Sir, is not in the ſtyle of Gaſconading romance, uſual after every ſucceſsful action, but literally fact; I, with pleaſure, mention the circumſtance, as it augurs well to the cauſe of freedom. At eleven the fire ceaſed, having continued juſt twelve hours without the leaſt intermiſſion. What the enemy's intentions are now, it is impoſſible to divine. I am inclined to think, they will, if they can repaſs the bar, bend their courſe to Cheſapeak or Hampton Bay: perhaps ſhame and rage may prompt their land forces to ſome attempt before their departure: on my part, I ſhall ſpare no pains to diſcover their intentions and baffle their ſchemes.

As Georgia is a diſtrict of the command with which you have honoured me, I thought it prudent to requeſt ſome of their members to a conference with the preſident of this province, and myſelf. They accepted the invitation, and gave us great ſatisfaction from their intelligence and good ſenſe: incloſed is the ſubſtance of their deliberation.

The province is certainly of the laſt importance to the common cauſe, and the mode of protecting it, pointed out by theſe gentlemen, is, in my opinion, in all its parts wiſe and neceſſary. They had conceived a notion that I had powers to augment their eſtabliſhment; I aſſured them I had no ſuch powers; but both Mr. Rutledge and myſelf gave it as our opinion, that any expences

manifeſtly beyond their faculties which they might incur in the common cauſe, would be repaid by the Congreſs; and in this perſuaſion we ventured to encourage them to augment their cavalry without loſs of time, and make the propoſed preſent of cattle to the Indians. Indeed, Sir, without a ſtrong corps of cavalry, I do not ſee how it is poſſible to protect theſe Southern colonies, and with one thouſand good cavalry, I think I could inſure their protection. From the want of this ſpecies of troops, Charles-town and its dependencies had certainly been loſt, if the enemy had acted with the vigor and expedition we had reaſon to expect; but a moſt unaccountable languor and inertneſs on their parts have ſaved us. If the ſcheme I propoſed in Virginia had been approved and adopted, it would have been not only a ſecurity but conſiderable œconomy. The forage was to have been the only expence. Now I am upon the ſubject, I cannot help mentioning, that I have been informed that the project has been conſidered by ſome gentlemen, as a ſort of a preſumption in me, in arrogating ſuch a power; but I fancy the affair was not properly underſtood: I ſaw the immediate neceſſity of ſuch a corps. I knew they could be raiſed immediately by theſe means, and at the ſame time I was given to underſtand, by ſeveral gentlemen of the Virginia convention, that ſhould the Continental Congreſs diſapprove of the expence (trifling as it was) there was little doubt of their convention defraying

fraying it; but, in fact, Sir, the meaſure ſeemed neceſſary for the ſalvation of the provinces, and not a day was to be loſt; which, I hope, will fully juſtify my conduct: and I muſt beg leave to repeat my aſſertion, that without cavalry theſe provinces cannot eaſily be defended.

I wiſh ſome means could be deviſed of reducing Eaſt Florida to an American province. Had I force ſufficient, I ſhould, with your permiſſion, certainly attempt it; the advantages would be great and manifold. The augmentation of the Georgian cavalry, I ſincerely hope may be approved of by the Congreſs. Incloſed is the eſtabliſhment and pay propoſed for them; I think the terms not high.

I ſhall now, Sir, conclude with expreſſing the high ſatisfaction I have received from the zeal, activity, and public ſpirit of the gentlemen and inhabitants of this city and province, from the preſident and council, down to the loweſt order of the people; and with aſſuring you, that I have not, in my military capacity, met with the leaſt obſtruction or difficulty; but that we have all worked in concert and harmony for the common good. I moſt earneſtly requeſt you will pay my reſpects to the Congreſs, and be perſuaded, Sir, that I am moſt entirely and devotedly,

Your moſt obedient ſervant,

CHARLES LEE.

To the
Hon. John Hancock, Preſ.
of the Continental Congreſs.

P. S. Lord Dunmore has, I believe, with him at preſent only one ſhip of war; if any part of the continental fleet ſhould happen to viſit Hampton Bay at this juncture, it would defeat the whole ſcheme of the enemy's operations, at leaſt for this campaign; but it is impoſſible to ſay how long his Lordſhip may remain in this weak condition.

SIR, Charles-town, July 7, 1776.

MR. Rutledge will inform you by this expreſs of the outrages committed by the Cherokees, which muſt be conſtrued as the commencement of a war. As it is now certain that a capital and favourite part of the plan laid down by our enemies, is to lay waſte the provinces, burn the inhabitants, and mix men, women, and children in one common carnage, by the hands of the Indians; and as this part of the plan, though a piece of inhumanity, is certainly more big with miſchievous conſequences than the reſt, it appears to me abſolutely neceſſary to cruſh the evil before it ariſes to any dangerous height. Indeed if we avail ourſelves of the event, it may prove a fortunate one. Perhaps we ought, in policy, to have wiſhed for it. We can now, with the greateſt juſtice,

juſtice, ſtrike a blow which is neceſſary to intimidate the numerous tribes of Indians from falling into the meaſures of our enemies; and as theſe Cherokees are not eſteemed the moſt formidable warriors, we can, probably, do it without much riſque or loſs. I think then, Sir, that without a moment's delay, a body of your frontier rifle-men ſhould be immediately furniſhed, and march into the country of the Overhill Cherokees, and make a ſevere laſting and ſalutary example of them. The Carolinians propoſe at the ſame time attacking their lower towns, and, with the co-operation of Virginia, entertain no doubt of ſucceſs.

Clinton's army and Parker's ſquadron are pretty much in the ſame ſituation as when I wrote laſt. They daily, indeed, make ſome alterations in the poſition of their land troops from one iſland to another; perhaps for new air or water, of which, the deſerters ſay, they are in great want. They tell us likewiſe, that conſiderable ſickneſs prevails in the army, and greater diſcontents from hard duty and bad diet. The ſpirit of deſertion begins to ſhew itſelf, five ſoldiers came over theſe two laſt nights, who aſſure us, that were they not on an iſland, from which it is difficult to eſcape, two-thirds of their army would ſoon be with us: I am myſelf inclined to believe them. Upon the whole, when I conſider the difficulties which the enemy's Generals have to encounter, the temper and diſpoſition of their troops, and the

the improving ſpirit of ours, I aſſure myſelf, that the game is in our hands. God give us more grace than to ſhuffle it away.

I am, Sir,

Your moſt obedient humble ſervant,

CHARLES LEE.

To the
Hon. Edm. Pendleton,
Preſ. of the
Convention of Virginia.

MY DEAR FRIEND, Charles-town, July 19th, 1776.

I HAVE received yours, of the 28th of May, and did not think it poſſible that any thing could come from your hand to give me ſo diſagreeable ſenſations. You tell me a dark myſterious ſtory of a certain great General of whom prince Ferdinand has declared, *ſi l'on veut un officier*, &c. this great General in the clouds, will, it ſeems, graciouſly condeſcend to ſerve America, on condition that Congreſs will give him aſſurances of ſtepping over the heads of every officer but one, and this he ſubmits to, only on conſideration

of

of the confidence due to an American. You aſk my opinion on this ſubject; but the palpable meaning of your letter is, to prepare me for a ceſſion of my rank in favour of ſome impudent adventurer. Buckwith is the man, as you conjecture, from his known political principles and military abilities, which are ſo tranſcendent, that I ought for the public intereſt to make a ſecond ſacrifice. I am not, I believe naturally proud; I do not think myſelf conceited of my talents; but to be put in competition, much more to be ſpurned aſide, to make room for ſo deſpicable a character as Buckwith, a generally reputed coward, (and a b——d ſycophant,) I ſay, to be kicked out of my ſtation for ſuch a creature as this, would ſwell a man more humble than myſelf into a trumpeter of his own merits. Great God! is it come to this? I am not, it ſeems, an American; but am I not, (if I may ſo expreſs myſelf,) *Americanior ipſis Americanis?* Have I not, ſuch has been my zeal for your cauſe, once already waved my military claims in deference to the whim and partiality of ſome of your members? Did I not conſent to ſerve under an old church-warden, of whom you had conceived a moſt extravagant and ridiculous opinion? Your eyes were at length opened, and deacon Ward returned to his proper occupation; and would you now a ſecond time, (do you think it conſiſtent with decency, I may ſay, gratitude or common honeſty) to load me a ſecond

time with a ſimilar diſgrace? Have I betrayed any ignorance in my profeſſion? Have I ſhewn a deficiency in courage? Am I ſlackened in my zeal or induſtry? What have I done to merit ſuch an indignity? What part of my conduct can juſtify your harbouring ſuch an idea? Have not I ſtaked my fortune, life, and reputation in your cauſe? Is there a ſervice in Europe, to ſpeak proudly, (your injurious propoſal forces me to it,) is there a ſervice in Europe, where with ſome ſmall reputation, and my powerful friends, I might not expect the ſame rank I now hold? Have I not made myſelf a voluntary ſlave for the inſurances of American freedom? Have I, ſleeping or waking, employed a ſingle thought, but for her welfare, glory or advantage? But enough of this—You aſk my opinion, and I will freely, explicitly, and conciſely give it to you. If the Congreſs ſupercede me, I will, I muſt obey; but, I hope, in common juſtice, and for their own honour, that they will re-eſtabliſh me, at leaſt in part, in the eaſy fortune which I have forfeited, ſo as to enable me to retire from a ſervice to which I am no longer thought adequate. Before I conclude, let me once more repeat confidentially to you, that if Buckwith is the man, in whoſe favour you meditate ſo groſs a piece of injuſtice, you will make a very bad bargain, as he is certainly, unleſs fame belies him, neither poſſeſſed of courage, abilities, or integrity.

In God's name, if a real genius, or acknowledged

ledged hero, favoured by Heaven with a more than common portion of etherial ſpirit, ſhould preſent himſelf, (*a la Lippe*, or *Braganſa*,) receive him with open arms, as an immediate preſent from God; inveſt him with the command of the whole. No man loves, reſpects, and reverences another more than I do General Waſhington. I eſteem his virtues, private and public. I know him to be a man of ſenſe, courage, and firmneſs, but if a hero ſhould ſtart up, endowed with the attributes, which, according to my perſuaſion reſide in the two I have mentioned, and who would charge himſelf with the mighty taſk of your political ſalvation, General Waſhington ought, and, I am convinced, would reſign the truncheon; but that a little paltry impudent adventurer ſhould ſneakingly ſtipulate for the ſecond rank, when, if his motives were pure, he could be equally ſerviceable in the third, fourth, fifth, or ſixth; it is not to be endured, it is a groſs impoſition on common underſtanding, and a groſſer attempt to rob an individual. I muſt beg and conjure you, my dear friend, for ſuch I am ſure you are, to conſider the delicate, perhaps, you will ſay, falſe notions in which ſoldiers are bred; and that you will be careful of putting to ſo ſevere a trial the ſenſibility of one, who is moſt ſincerely, devotedly, and affectionately,

Yours,

CHARLES LEE.

To * * *

P. S.

P. S. I am extremely ſhocked with the pallid complexion of your public councils; is it poſſible that ſuch a deſpicable group as the Maryland Convention, ſhould lay an embargo on the great veſſel of the common-wealth! Can you be ſo weak as to hunt for the chimæra, abſolute unanimity! Why do you not adviſe the aggregate of the people to enfranchiſe themſelves? Your idea of quitting Canada from want of ſpecie is to me inconceivable, when you can or ought to command plate ſufficient to purchaſe ten Canadas.

DEAR SIR, Charles-town, July 29th, 1776.

I USED to regret not being thrown into the world, in the glorious third or fourth century of the Romans, but I am now thoroughly reconciled to my lot. The reveries which have frequently for a while ſerved to tickle my imagination, (but which when awakened from my trance, as conſtantly I conſidered as mere golden caſtles built in the air,) at length bid fair for being realized. We ſhall now, moſt probably, ſee a mighty empire eſtabliſhed of freemen, whoſe honour, property, and military glories are not to be at the diſpoſal of

of a ſceptered tyrant; nor their conſciences to be fettered by a proud domineering hierarchy. Every faculty of the ſoul will be now put in motion, no merit can lye latent; the higheſt offices of the ſtate, both civil and military, will now be obtained, without court favour, or the raſcally talents of ſervility and obſervance, by which court favour could alone be acquired. Senſe, valour, and induſtry will conduct us to the goal: every ſpark of ability which every individual poſſeſſes, will now be brought forth and form the common aggregate for the advantage and honour of the community. The operations of war will be directed by men qualified for war, and carried on with that energy natural to a young people. True unartized knowledge, unſophiſticated learning, ſimple genuine eloquence and poetry will be carried to the higheſt degree of perfection. This to many, I am ſenſible, would appear rant, but to you, who, I think, have congenial feelings with my own, it needs no apology. However, I ſhall now endeavour to deliver myſelf more like a man of this world.

I moſt ſincerely congratulate you on the noble conduct of your countrymen; and I congratulate your country on having citizens, deſerving of the high honour to which you are exalted; for the being elected to the firſt magiſtracy of a free people is certainly the pinnacle of human glory; and

and am perſuaded that they could not have made a happier choice.

Will you excuſe me? but I am myſelf ſo extremely democratical, that I think it a fault in your conſtitution that the governor ſhould be eligible for three years ſucceſſively. It appears to me that a government of three years may furniſh an opportunity of acquiring a very dangerous influence; but this is not the worſt; Tacitus ſays, *plura peccantur, dum demeremur, quam dum offendimus*. A man who is fond of office, and has his eye upon re-election will be courting favour and popularity, at the expence of his duty. He will give way to the popular humours of the day, let them be ever ſo pernicious. In ſhort, his adminiſtration will be relaxed in general, or partial to thoſe whom he conceives to have the greateſt intereſt: Whereas were all hopes of re-election precluded, till after the intervention of a certain number of years, he would endeavour to illuſtrate the year of his government by a ſtrict, rigorous, and manly performance of his duty. Theſe notions may perhaps be weak and fooliſh; but ſuch as they are, I am ſure you will excuſe my uttering them.

There is a barbariſm crept in among us that extremely ſhocks me, I mean thoſe tinſel epithets, with which (I come in for my ſhare) we are ſo beplaiſtered: *His Excellency*, and *His Honour*;

The

The *Honourable Preſident* of the *Honourable Congreſs*, or the *Honourable Convention*. This fulſome nauſeating cant may be well enough adapted to barbarous monarchies; or to gratify the adulterated pride of the *magnifici in pompous ariſtocracies*; but in a great, free, manly, equal commonwealth, it is quite abominable; for my own part, I would as lief they would put rats-bane in my mouth, as the *Excellency* with which I am daily crammed. How much more true dignity was there in the ſimplicity of addreſs amongſt the Romans! Marcus Tullius Cicero, Decimo Bruto Imperatori, or Caio Marcello Conſuli, than to his Excellency Major General Noodle, or to the Honourable John Doodle. My objections are perhaps trivial and whimſical; but, for my ſoul, I cannot help ſtarting them. If, therefore, I ſhould ſometimes addreſs a letter to you without the *Excellency* tacked, you muſt not eſteem it a mark of perſonal or official diſreſpect, but the reverſe.

The diſcontent of the troops which you mention as ariſing from the want of regular payment, might have been remedied by General Lewis; his warrant is undoubtedly ſufficient for the pay-maſter: however, I have written to that gentleman on this ſubject, and am in hopes that affairs for the future will be more ſatisfactorily conducted.

An old rice-boat which we converted the other day into a row-battery, has made a conſiderable prize; no leſs than a brig with a whole com-

pany of the royal highland emigrants on board, conſiſting of two officers and fifty men; although they ſaw that they were inevitably our prize, had the impudence to throw their arms overboard, for which they ought to have their ears cut off, as it was contrary to all the rules of war.

I ſend you incloſed the ſtate of the enemy's navy; I think there is no doubt of their army having ſteered their courſe Northward; on this preſumption I ſhall direct my courſe towards Virginia, but firſt muſt aſſiſt to regulate the military affairs of this province, in the beſt manner I can; though, in fact, that will be doing little; the inconveniencies of this complex play we are acting, of Duke and no Duke, are numberleſs and great. The preſident is thought by ſome to be the real commander, I am thought ſo by others; in ſhort, there muſt be no troops but continental. The council is at preſent employed in ſettling a more regular poſt. We have received none theſe eighteen days; for my own part, I conclude the mail has been intercepted and carried on board the man of war. Seven tons and a half of powder were ſafely landed four days ago, at George-town.

Adieu, dear Sir, and believe me to be

Moſt entirely and ſincerely yours,

His Excellency
Patrick Henry, Jun.
Governor of Virginia.

CHARLES LEE.

SIR, Charles-town, Aug. 2d, 1776.

I WISH I had been informed how I am to addreſs myſelf in writing to the Board of War; whether to the board in general, to the firſt members on the liſt, or to the ſecretary. I have ventured on the laſt mode; if it is wrong, I hope I ſhall be excuſed and corrected. The irregularity and tardineſs of the poſt are now become a matter of my ſerious concern: we never receive a letter from Philadelphia in leſs than ſix or ſeven weeks; that from the members of the Board of War and Ordnance is only juſt now arrived, though dated the twelfth of June. I have been preſſed, Sir, by ſeveral members of the Convention of Virginia, to eſtabliſh a poſt for this diſtrict; but am apprehenſive, that it might interfere with the continental poſt; however, the conſequences ariſing from the irregularity of the poſt are ſo very ſerious, that all other conſiderations muſt be waved: In the mean time, I am conſtrained to the neceſſity of putting the continent to the expence of an expreſs almoſt on every occaſion.

I am extremely rejoiced at the eſtabliſhment of a Board of War; for the buſineſs of Congreſs was ſo complex and heterogeneous, that it was impoſſible they ſhould give the neceſſary attention to the affairs of any one diſtinct department; their regulations with reſpect to returns, &c. ſhall

be punctually obſerved. I have ordered General Armſtrong to collect the returns from the different corps, to digeſt them into one, and tranſmit them immediately to the Congreſs.

I am myſelf buſied in arranging matters for an expedition into Eaſt Florida. It is much to be lamented, that theſe Southern colonies ſuffered the whole of laſt winter to paſs over their heads without preparing the means either of offence or defence. Not a ſingle row-galley or armed boat was furniſhed by Virginia, North, or South Carolina; were we provided with a moderate fleet of theſe ſort of veſſels, I think I could enſure the reduction of Eaſt Florida, an object, though not equal with Canada, is certainly of very great importance. Here the meaſures of the Southern Indians are concerted and planned, their treaties negociated and concluded; here they receive their bribes, for their murderous operations, and from hence they are ſupplied with all the means and inſtruments of war: from hence they have lately made ſome alarming incurſions into Georgia, carried off a conſiderable number of negroes, and not leſs than two thouſand head of cattle: they have likewiſe thrown up a poſt on the river St. Mary's, which, if ſuffered to remain, may prove extremely troubleſome to Georgia, by affording a ready aſylum to negro deſerters.

From theſe conſiderations, although I cannot think of laying ſiege to Auguſtine, having neither

ther boats, horſes, waggons, nor any other means of conveying cannon, ammunition, or proviſion for the purpoſe. I think it both a prudent and neceſſary meaſure to attempt breaking up the whole province of Eaſt Florida. It will be a ſecurity to Georgia, occaſion infinite diſtreſs to the garriſon of St. Auguſtine, but, above all, make a ſalutary impreſſion on the minds of the Creeks, who now are thought to ſtand wavering. They profeſs a good diſpoſition towards the American cauſe; but if, by a ſtrong predatory expedition into the province of the enemy, we give an idea of our proweſs and ſuperior ſtrength, they will be rivetted in our intereſt. If I was ſure Mr. Clinton and his army had ſteered their courſe to New-York, as the deſerters all agree, and a letter which was left in Long Iſland confirms, (a copy of which is here encloſed,) I ſhould, as I have nothing immediately elſe to do in my diſtrict, march in perſon with this party; but the bare poſſibility of his being gone to Virginia will detain me. Every ſhip of the enemy has now repaſſed the bar. It appears by this ſame incloſed letter that they were more roughly handled than even the deſerters repreſented.

The Congreſs I make no doubt have been informed of the incurſions made, and the ravages committed by the upper and lower Cherokees; an expedition I underſtand is furniſhed forth by Virginia, againſt the upper nations; another by

this province againſt the lower; the ſucceſs or miſcarriage is of the laſt conſequence; I am therefore deſirous of forming a ſecond line, or *corps de reſerve*, and detaching for this purpoſe, a regiment of regulars, but have not as yet been able to procure waggons ſufficient for two companies. It will be neceſſary that Congreſs ſhould make ſome regular eſtabliſhment for waggons. I ſhould think one waggon at leaſt, if not two, ſhould be purchaſed and appointed to each company of the whole army, and regiments made reſponſible for theirs reſpectively. We ſhould then be able to march when occaſion requires expedition; at preſent it is ſometimes as much impoſſible to march an hundred miles, although the fate of a province depended upon it, as if the ſoldiers wanted legs.

I hope the Congreſs and Board of War will excuſe my giving an opinion on a ſubject on which it has not been aſked; but I conceive it to be my duty not to remain ſilent on any affairs of ſuch moment. I find, Sir, that repreſentations have been made, that many inconveniencies would ariſe from putting the troops of this province on the continental eſtabliſhment. I can aſſure the Congreſs, that it is almoſt impoſſible to carry on the ſervice, if they remain on the colonial eſtabliſhment; the difference of the laws, the diſtinction of rank, occaſion ſo much confuſion; and the ridiculous farce of Duke and no

Duke

Duke, we are playing, (the officers not always comprehending who is their proper commander, whether the preſident, or continental general,) occcaſions very dangerous diſtractions; but there are other matters of more ſerious conſideration, of which I ſhall not trouble you with a detail; nor do I find that the officers of this province object to a continental eſtabliſhment, on the contrary, all thoſe I have converſed with, ſeem deſirous of it. Upon the whole, I think it abſolutely eſſential to the public ſervice, that theſe regiments ſhould immediately be put on the ſame footing, and be governed by the ſame laws, with the reſt; nor am I ſingular in opinion: the two brigadiers, all the officers of every rank, and the greater part of the gentlemen of the country concur with me.

Colonel Muhlenburg of the eigthth battalion of Virginians has been made very uneaſy by ſome letters he has lately received with reſpect to the rank of his regiment. Theſe letters intimate, that it was never the intention of the Congreſs to conſider the ſeventh, eighth, and ninth, battalions of the Virginians on the continental eſtabliſhment until they were entirely complete. That his regiment never was entirely complete; and that, conſequently, after having ſo long thought himſelf on the continental eſtabliſhment; and on this preſumption having marched five hundred miles from his own province, under the command of a con-

tinental general, he now, at leaſt, finds himſelf only a provincial officer.

I have ventured to aſſure him and his officers, who are equally uneaſy, that there muſt be ſome miſtake in this affair; in fact, the hardſhip would be ſo great, that I cannot believe their apprehenſions are well founded. It was, if I remember right, notified in April, by the Committee of Safety in Virginia, that they were then taken upon the continental eſtabliſhment; and though in this, I may be miſtaken, without the proviſo of their being complete.

It happened at this time, though not complete to a man, (for no regiment ever is complete to a man,) that Muhlenburg's regiment was not only the moſt complete of the province, but, I believe of the whole continent; it was not only the moſt complete in numbers, but the beſt armed, cloathed and equiped in all reſpects for immediate ſervice; I muſt repeat, that I cannot conceive that it was ever the intention of Congreſs that the eſtabliſhment ſhould be filled to a man; but that they ſhould be competent to ſervice in or out of their province. In moſt ſervices when new levies are raiſed, one half of the propoſed complement entitles them to eſtabliſhment. Muhlenburg's regiment wanted only forty at moſt. It was the ſtrength and good condition of the regiment, that induced me to order it out of its own province, in preference to any other. I certainly conſidered them at that time

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as continental troops, otherwiſe I could have no authority to order them out of the province.

I muſt now ſubmit it to the conſideration of the Congreſs, if it would not really be the greateſt cruelty, that their ſtrength and good condition ſhould be turned againſt them. It was their ſtrength and good condition which carried them out of their province, where, had they remained and known that it was a neceſſary condition of their eſtabliſhment to be complete to a man, they certainly could have accompliſhed it in three days. I do, therefore, moſt ſincerely hope, and confidently perſuade myſelf, that Muhlenburg's regiment will at leaſt date their rank from the day I ordered them to march out of their province; not only juſtice, but policy requires it, for you will otherwiſe loſe a moſt excellent regiment.

I often repreſented to Congreſs how difficult or impoſſible it would be to engage or retain, after they were engaged, any engineers of tolerable qualification on the wretched pay eſtabliſhed. The two appointed to my diſtrict have (as I expected) quitted the ſervice; it was indeed impoſſible for them to exiſt. Stadler, I hear, has entered into the ſervice of Virginia. Maſſenburg is retained by this province, at fifty-four dollars per month, a ſervant, rations, and his travelling expences. He formerly begged his diſmiſſion from me, aſſuring me, (and, I believe, ſincerely,) he

he was zealous in the cauſe of America; that he would willingly, if I choſe it, enliſt as a common ſoldier; but that to ride about the continent from north to ſouth, find horſes, and appear like a gentleman was impoſſible. I could not in conſcience force him to ſtarve, ſo conſented to his engaging in this ſervice. I am now without a ſingle engineer, and really know not how to carry on the buſineſs. I hope the Board will conſider the neceſſity of ſupplying me.

I ſhall now, Sir, conclude, with aſſuring them, that I am,

With the greateſt reſpect,

their moſt obedient humble ſervant,

CHARLES LEE.

To
Richard Peters, Eſq.
Secretary to the Board
of War and Ordnance.

SIR, Savannah, in Georgia, 23d Auguſt, 1776.

YOUR letter, with the thanks of the Continental Congreſs, reached me at Puriſburg. The approbation of the freely choſen delegates of a free and uncorrupt people, is certainly the higheſt honour that can be conferred on mortal man. I ſhall

ſhall conſider it, as a freſh ſtimulus to excite my zeal and ardour in the glorious cauſe in which I am engaged. May the God of Righteouſneſs proſper your arms in every part of the empire, in proportion to the juſtice with which they were taken up! Once more, let me expreſs the high ſatisfaction and happineſs I feel in this honourable teſtimony; and once more, let me aſſure the United States of America, that they cannot meet with a ſervant (whatever may be my abilities) animated with a greater degree of ardour and enthuſiaſm, for their ſafety, proſperity, and glory. The preſent ſtate of this province, its ſtrength and weakneſs, I ſhall tranſmit to the Board of War, according to the directions I have received; and let me entreat you to be perſuaded that

I am, Sir, with the greateſt reſpect,

Your moſt obedient and

Very humble ſervant,

CHARLES LEE.

His Excellency
John Hancock.

GENTLEMEN, Savannah, Auguſt 24th, 1776.

ANY irregularity of returns of the forces under my command, will not, I hope, be imputed

puted to me; the extenſive buſineſs of ſuperintending the ſafety of ſo vaſt a territory, as that which the Congreſs have committed to my charge, renders it impoſſible for me to attend to the detail of the regiments, or, in any reaſonable time, to collect and digeſt the various returns; but I have given orders to the brigadiers to be as accurate as poſſible on this ſubject in their reſpective diſtricts, and have no reaſon from my knowledge of the men, to think they will be deficient. As a thorough knowledge of the preſent condition of this colony, of its ſtrength and weakneſs, is certainly a matter of very ſerious conſideration, I ſhall lay before the Board the beſt and moſt accurate information I am able.

Georgia is a ſtate of much greater importance to the empire of America than generally ſuppoſed, at leaſt, than what I myſelf imagined before I viſited it. The variety of navigable rivers, commodious harbours, and fine inlets; the prodigious quantities of rice, and immenſe ſtocks of cattle, both on the iſlands, and on the main; but, above all, the gentleneſs and ſalubrity of the winter ſeaſons, with the conveniency of its ſituation for commerce with the Weſt India Iſlands, would render it a moſt valuable poſſeſſion to the enemy; the Altamaha, a very noble river, already furniſhes a conſiderable quantity, and may, in time, furniſh any quantity of lumber; the garriſon of St. Auguſtine, and, indeed, the whole

whole province of Eaſt Florida, draw their ſubſiſtence from Georgia; and, if all intercourſe with her were cut off, that neſt of robbers and pirates would probably fall to the ground, and, of courſe, the empire of the United States become more round and entire. Theſe circumſtances ſummed up together, muſt evince the importance of keeping Georgia or any part of it out of the hands of the enemy; the means of doing it, demands the utmoſt attention. I have turned my thoughts to the ſubject, and ſhall beg leave to ſubmit the reſult to the conſideration of the Congreſs. The preſent ſtate of the ſtrength of this colony, conſiſts of Colonel M'Intoſh's battalion, a return of which, is here encloſed, a company of independent artillery, conſiſting of three officers and twenty-three privates, with about twenty-five hundred militia of all ſorts; but in a very great part of theſe, (as I learn from the authority of their own captains,) very little confidence can be placed, their principles being extremely contaminated by a moſt pernicious banditti of enemies to the common liberty. M'Intoſh's battalion is really a very fine one, (one of the beſt, I think, on the continent,) but as, perhaps, it might appear a harſh taſk, to inſiſt on this battalion's acting with the neceſſary rigour againſt ſome of their neareſt connections and relations, accuſed of being concerned in treaſonable practices; it is my intention to remove them either into South

or

or North Carolina, where they can be more ſerviceable, and have an opportunity of completeing themſelves, which, in this ſtate, from the dearth of men is impoſſible, and replace them with an equal or greater number from South Carolina.

Such is the preſent condition of the ſtrength of Georgia, very far from being adequate to its defence. My ſcheme for its ſecurity is, as row-gallies, and armed boats are ſo well calculated for what is called the inland navigation, give them an infinite advantage over veſſels merely ſailing, which in theſe ſtraight confined waters have no room for manœuvering; they will ſecure the rivers againſt the predatory incurſions of the enemy, prevent the deſertion of negroes, ſweep the coaſts clear of tenders; but, above all, facilitate the means of the different ſtates mutually aſſiſting each other with troops, cannon, proviſion, and other requiſites, which is now effected with difficulties, ſlowneſs, and monſtrous expence. Three gallies are already on the ſtocks in this port, and we have armed and equiped ſeveral boats with ſwivels, and one gun on the bow of each. The leaſt of them capable of containing thirty men, and rowed with fourteen oars; ſailors, of whom we find ſo great a ſcarcity, are not neceſſary for this ſpecies of veſſels, the ſoldiers are competent to the buſineſs; beſides the equipment of theſe gallies and boats, I propoſed eſtabliſhing little forts or redoubts, in certain ſituations,

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on the river St. Mary's, Satilla, Sapello, and Altamaha, which may enable us to make incurſions from time to time, when circumſtances require it, into Eaſt Florida, and render it dangerous for them to make attempts of a ſimilar nature into Georgia. Theſe redoubts, or little forts will likewiſe ſerve as places of rendezvous, refreſhment, and retreat for bodies of horſe rangers which ought continually to be patroling on the frontier. Such are the beſt methods, after having conſulted the moſt intelligent people, which, in my opinion, can be deviſed for the defence and ſecurity of this State, unleſs, indeed, we could prevail on the province, to contract their frontier, by breaking up all their ſettlements on the other ſide of the Altamaha, which, to me, I confeſs, appears a wiſer and more œconomical meaſure; but this I am afraid, is not to be accompliſhed.

I muſt now beg leave to lay before the Board, a matter of the higheſt concern, and which certainly demands the moſt ſerious attention of Congreſs, as, unleſs remedied, it may not only diſtreſs the circumſtances of the public, but bring a diſgrace on the American character; I mean the unconſcionable advantages which individuals, merchants, mechanics, farmers, and planters are ſuffered to take of the public neceſſities. If boats, waggons, horſes, drugs, clothing, ſkins, neceſſaries, even little refreſhments, ſuch as fruit or garden ſtuff, are wanting for the ſoldiers, no price being regulated, the extortion is monſtrous: the

expences of the war muſt not only be prodigiouſly ſwelled by this want of regulation, but the officers and ſoldiers are diſguſted to the ſervice by the toleration of ſuch impoſitions; for inſtance, the Virginians and North Carolinians are ſo much out of temper with Charles-town on this head, that ſhould it be again attacked, and the aſſiſtance of theſe troops be again requiſite, I am afraid we ſhall find a dangerous repugnance in them to march, when ordered. I moſt devoutly wiſh, therefore, that the Congreſs will make it an object to remedy this evil. Might they not recommend or enjoin to the legiſlatures of the different ſtates, to appoint a committee of aſſeſſors, from their reſpective bodies to fix the prices of the different articles in their provinces? Whether this method is or is not proper, I cannot pretend to ſay; but ſomething, I muſt repeat, ſhould be done.

The waſte, difficulty, and expence ariſing from a want of method in proviſioning the troops, when aſſembled in any particular ſpot, upon an emergency, are ſo great, that magazines ought to be eſtabliſhed in every province, more particularly in thoſe, which have the greateſt probability of being attacked: by theſe means, the troops will not only be better fed, but be an immenſe ſaving to the continent; for the contractors, not being preſſed for time, can, at their leiſure, purchaſe every ſpecies of neceſſaries in theſe parts, where they are beſt and cheapeſt; but, when a great and ſudden demand is made, either for cattle

tle, corn, ſpirits, &c. they are under a neceſſity of taking that which is next at hand, and giving the ſellers their own price. On this conſideration, in concurrence with the preſident and council of South Carolina, I have thought it expedient to eſtabliſh ſome magazines in South Carolina, of pork, beef, corn, &c. beſides ſtraw and whiſkey, which, in theſe low damp countries, are abſolutely neceſſary; at all events, this eſtabliſhment can be no loſs to the continent, as the beef and pork, at leaſt, can always, with advantage, be exported to the Weſt Indies. Were I at a leſs diſtance from the Congreſs, I ſhould not take the liberty of laying out a ſingle dollar without having obtained their approbation; but, at this diſtance, I muſt aſſume ſuch a power, or let the public affairs go to wreck, and of courſe, prove myſelf totally unworthy of the great truſt the Congreſs have repoſed in me.

I am, Gentlemen,

With the greateſt reſpect,

Your moſt obedient, and

Very humble ſervant,

CHARLES LEE.

The Board of
War and Ordnance.

Sir, Savannah, Aug. 30th, 1776.

IT will be neceſſary in addreſſing a letter of this nature, ſo abruptly to your Excellency, that I ſhould inform you who the writer is. I have ſerved as lieutenant-colonel in the Engliſh ſervice, colonel in the Portugueſe, afterwards as aid du camp to his Poliſh majeſty, with the rank of major general. Having purchaſed a ſmall eſtate in America, I had determined to retire, for the remainder of my days, to a peaceful aſylum: when the tyranny of the miniſtry, and court of Great Britain, forced this continent to arms, for the preſervation of their liberties, I was called, by the voice of the people, to the rank of ſecond in command. I make no doubt of this letter's being kindly received by your Excellency, both in the character of a good Frenchman, and friend to humanity. The preſent conjuncture of affairs renders the intereſt of France and of this continent one and the ſame thing; every obſervation drawn from hiſtory muſt evince, that it was the excluſive commerce of theſe colonies, which enabled Great Britain to cope with France, gave to her a decided ſuperiority in marine, and, of courſe, enabled her in the frequent wars betwixt the two nations to reduce her rival to the laſt extremity. This was the caſe, ſo peculiarly in the laſt war, that had the Britiſh miniſtry perſevered,

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Heaven knows what would have been the fate of France. It follows, that if France can obtain the monopoly, or the greater part of this commerce, her opulence, ſtrength, and proſperity, muſt grow to a prodigious height; and nothing can be more certain, than that if America is enabled to preſerve the independence ſhe has now declared, the greater part of this commerce, if not the monopoly, muſt fall to the ſhare of France.

The imaginary plans of conqueſt of Lewis the Fourteenth, had they been realized, would not have eſtabliſhed the power of that monarchy, on ſo ſolid and permanent a baſis, as the ſimple aſſiſtance, or rather friendly intercourſe with this continent, will inevitably give. Without injuſtice, or the colour of injuſtice, but, on the contrary, only aſſuming the patronage of the rights of mankind, France has now in her power to become not only the greateſt, but the moſt truly glorious monarchy which has appeared on the ſtage of the world. In the firſt place, her poſſeſſions in the iſlands will be ſecured againſt all poſſibility of attack; the Royal Revenues immenſely increaſed, her people eaſed of their preſent burdens, an eternal incitement be preſented to their induſtry, and the means of increaſe by the facility of providing ſuſtenance for their families multiplied. In ſhort, there is no ſaying what degree of eminence, happineſs, and glory, ſhe may derive from the independence of this continent. Some viſionary

writers have indeed aſſerted, that could this country once ſhake off her European trammels, it would ſoon become more formidable alone, from the virtue and energy, natural to a young people, than Great Britain with her colonies united in a ſtate of dependency. But the men who have built ſuch hypotheſes muſt be utter ſtrangers to the manners, genius, diſpoſition, turn of mind, and circumſtances of the continent. Their diſpoſition is manifeſtly to agriculture, and the ſimple life of ſhepherds. As long as vaſt tracts of land remain unoccupied, to which they can ſend colonies (if I may ſo expreſs it) of their offſpring, they will never entertain a thought of marine or manufactures. Their ideas are ſolely confined to labour and to planting, for thoſe nations, who can, on the cheapeſt terms, furniſh them with the neceſſary utenſils for labouring and planting, and cloaths for their families; and till the whole vaſt extent of continent is fully ſtocked with people, they will never entertain another idea. This cannot be effected for ages; and what then may happen, it is out of the line of politicians to lay any ſtreſs upon: moſt probably, they will be employed in wars amongſt themſelves, before they aim at foreign conqueſts. In ſhort, the apprehenſion is too remote to rouſe the jealouſy of any reaſonable citizen of a foreign State. On the other hand, it is worthy your Excellency's attention, to conſider what will be

the

the conſequences, ſhould Great Britain ſucceed in the preſent conteſt. America, it is true, will be wretched and enſlaved; but a number of ſlaves may compoſe a formidable army and fleet. The proximity of ſituation, with ſo great a force, entirely at the diſpoſal of Great Britain, will put it in her power to take poſſeſſion of your iſlands on the firſt rupture. Without pretending to the ſpirit of propheſy, ſuch, I can aſſert, will be the event of the next war; upon the whole, I muſt repeat, that it is for the intereſt, as well as glory of France, to furniſh us with every means of ſupporting our liberties, to effect which, we only demand a conſtant ſyſtematic ſupply of the neceſſaries of war. We do not require any aid of men, we have numbers, and, I believe, courage ſufficient to carry us triumphantly through the ſtruggle. We require ſmall arms, powder, field-pieces, woollen and linen to cloath our troops; alſo drugs, particularly bark: in return for which, every neceſſary proviſion for your iſlands may be expected, as rice, corn, lumber, &c. If, indeed, you could ſpare us a few able engineers, and artillery officers, they may depend upon an honourable reception and comfortable eſtabliſhment. The Sieur de la Plain, one of your countrymen, now engaged in the cauſe of the United States of America will have the honour of delivering this letter to your Excellency. I have no doubt of his being received with that politeneſs, and kindneſs,

to be expected from a gentleman of your rank and character.

I am, with the higheſt reſpect,

Your Excellency's

Moſt obedient ſervant,

CHARLES LEE.

His Excellency,
The Governor at Cape François.

CHARACTER OF GENERAL HOWE.

Camp at Valley-Forge, June 4th, 1778.

MY DEAR RUSH,

THOUGH I had no occaſion for freſh aſſurances of your friendſhip, I cannot help being much pleaſed with the warmth which your letter, delivered to me by Mr. Hall, breathes; and, I hope, it is unneceſſary to aſſure you, that my ſentiments, with reſpect to you, are correſpondent.

You will think it odd, that I ſhould ſeem to be an apologiſt for General Howe: I know not how it happens, but when I have taken prejudices in favour, or againſt a man, I find it a difficulty in ſhaking them

them off. From my firſt acquaintance with Mr. Howe, I liked him: I thought him friendly, candid, good natured, brave, and rather ſenſible than the reverſe. I believe ſtill, that he is naturally ſo; but a corrupt, or, more properly, no education, the faſhion of the times, and the reigning idolatry amongſt the Engliſh, (particularly the ſoldiery;) for every ſceptered *calf*, *wolf*, *hog*, or *aſs*, have ſo totally perverted his underſtanding and heart, that private friendſhip has not force ſufficient to keep a door open for the admittance of mercy towards political heretics. He was, beſides, perſuaded that I was doubly criminal, both as a traitor and deſerter. In ſhort, ſo totally was he enebriated with this idea, that I am convinced he would have thought himſelf both politically and morally damned had he acted any other part than what he did. He is, beſides, the moſt indolent of mortals: never took farther pains to examine the merits or demerits of the cauſe in which he was engaged, than merely to recollect, that Great Britain was ſaid to be the mother country, George the Third King of Great Britain, that the parliament was called the repreſentatives of Great Britain, that the King and Parliament formed the ſupreme power, that a ſupreme power is abſolute and uncontrolable, that all reſiſtance muſt, conſequently, be rebellion; but, above all, that he was a ſoldier, and bound to obey in all caſes whatever.

Theſe are his notions, and this his logic; but through theſe abſurdities I could diſtinguiſh, when

he was left to himſelf, rays of friendſhip and good nature breaking out. It is true, he was ſeldom left to himſelf; for never poor mortal, thruſt into high ſtation, was ſurrounded by ſuch fools and ſcoundrels. M'Kenſey, Balfour, Galloway, were his counſellors: they urged him to all his acts of harſhneſs; they were his ſcribes: all the damned ſtuff which was iſſued to the aſtoniſhed world was theirs. I believe he ſcarcely ever read the letters he ſigned. You will ſcarcely believe it, but I can aſſure you as a fact, that he never read the curious proclamation, iſſued at the head of Elk, till three days after it was publiſhed. You will ſay, that I am drawing my friend Howe in more ridiculous colours than he has yet been repreſented in; but this is his real character. He is naturally good humoured, complaiſant, but illiterate and indolent to the laſt degree, unleſs as an executive ſoldier, in which capacity he is all fire and activity, brave and cool as Julius Cæſar. His underſtanding is, as I obſerved before, rather good than otherwiſe; but was totally confounded and ſtupified by the immenſity of the taſk impoſed upon him. He ſhut his eyes, fought his battles, drank his bottle, had his little whore, adviſed with his counſellors, received his orders from North and Germain, (one more abſurd than the other,) took Galloway's opinion, ſhut his eyes, fought again, and is now, I ſuppoſe, to be called to account for acting according to inſtructions; but, I believe, his eyes are now opened; he ſees he has been an inſtrument

inſtrument of wickedneſs and folly: indeed, when I obſerved it to him, he not only took patiently the obſervation, but indirectly aſſented to the truth of it. He made, at the ſame time, as far as his *mauvais honte* would permit, an apology for his treatment of me.

Thus far with regard to Mr. Howe. You are ſtruck with the great events, changes, and new characters which have appeared on the ſtage ſince I ſaw you laſt; but I am more ſtruck with the admirable efficacy of blunders. It ſeemed to be a trial of ſkill which party ſhould outdo the other; and it is hard to ſay which played the deepeſt ſtrokes; but it was a capital one of ours, which certainly gave the happy turn which affairs have taken. Upon my ſoul, it was time for Fortune to interpoſe, or we were inevitably loſt; but this we will talk over another time. I ſuppoſe we ſhall ſee one another at Philadelphia, very ſoon, in attendance. God bleſs you!

Yours affectionately,

CHARLES LEE.

Philadelphia, Oct. 30th, 1778.

WHEN it is conſidered I hold a high rank in the ſervice of one of the moſt reſpectable princes of

of Europe; that I have been honoured with the truſt of the ſecond command in your army; that I have hitherto ſerved, with ſome reputation, as a ſoldier; that I now ſtand charged, and have been actually tried for ſome of the moſt heinous military crimes; and, to the aſtoniſhment, not only of myſelf, but, I can venture to ſay, of every man in the army who was preſent at this court, and of every man out of the army who has read the proceedings, found guilty of theſe crimes; when, at the ſame time, I am myſelf inflexibly perſuaded, that I am not only guiltleſs, but that the ſucceſs of the 28th of June ought principally, in juſtice, to be aſcribed to me; I ſay, Sir, when theſe circumſtances are conſidered, it muſt be allowed that my preſent ſituation is extremely aukward; that a man of my military rank, lingering in ſuſpence, whilſt his fame and fortune are *ſub judice*, is rather a diſgraceful ſpectacle; that it is natural for him to wiſh, and reaſonable for him to requeſt, that Congreſs will no longer delay the final deciſion of my fate. An additional motive for my requeſting it is, that I find Congreſs is every day growing thinner; and, I confeſs, that I could moſt ardently wiſh, that the Congreſs was not only as complete as poſſible in numbers, but that if it was agreeable to the rules of the Houſe, that the people at large might be admitted to form an audience when the diſcuſſion is entered into, of the juſtice or iniquity, wiſdom or abſurdity, of the ſentence which has been

paſſed

paſſed upon me. I do now, Sir, therefore, moſt humbly, but, earneſtly, entreat, that a day may be immediately fixed for the final determination of this affair.

I am, Sir, with the greateſt reſpect,

Your moſt obedient ſervant,

CHARLES LEE.

His Excellency
Henry Laurens, Preſ.

MADAM, Philadelphia, Dec. 20th, 1778.

WHEN an officer of the reſpectable rank I bear is groſsly traduced and calumniated, it is incumbent on him to clear up the affair to the world, with as little delay as poſſible. The ſpirit of defamation and calumny (I am ſorry to ſay it) is grown to a prodigious and intolerable height on this continent. If you had accuſed me of a deſign to procraſtinate the war, or of holding a treaſonable correſpondence with the enemy, I could have borne it; this I am uſed to; and this happened to the great Fabius Maximus. If you had accuſed

cuſed me of getting drunk as often as I could get liquor, as two Alexanders the Great have been charged with this vice, I ſhould, perhaps, have ſat patient under the imputation; or, even if you had given the plaineſt hints, that I had ſtolen the ſoldiers' ſhirts, this I could have put up with, as the great Duke of Marlborough would have been an example; or if you had contented yourſelf with aſſerting, that I was ſo abominable a ſloven as never to part with my ſhirt, until my ſhirt parted with me, the anecdotes of my illuſtrious namefake of Sweden * would have adminiſtered ſome comfort to me. But the calumny you have, in the fertility of your malicious wit, choſen to invent, is of ſo new, ſo unprecedented, and ſo helliſh a kind, as would make Job himſelf ſwear like a Virginia Colonel.

Is it poſſible that the celebrated Miſs F- - - - s †, a lady who has had every human and divine advantage, who has read, (or, at leaſt, might have read,) in the originals, the New and Old Teſtaments; (though I am afraid ſhe too ſeldom looks even into the tranſlations:) I ſay, is it poſſible that Miſs F - - - - s, with every human and divine advantage, who might, and ought to have read theſe two good books, which (an old Welſh nurſe, whoſe uncle was reckoned the beſt preacher

* Charles XII.

† This young lady was a Jeweſs.

in

in Merionethſhire, aſſured me) enjoins charity, and denounces vengeance againſt ſlander and evil ſpeaking; is it poſſible, I again repeat it, that Miſs F - - - - s ſhould, in the face of the day, carry her malignity ſo far, in the preſence of three moſt reſpectable perſonages; (one of the oldeſt religion in the world, one of the neweſt; for he is a new-light man; and the other, moſt probably, of no religion at all, as he is an Engliſh ſailor;) but, I demand it again and again, is it poſſible, that Miſs F - - - - s ſhould aſſert it, in the preſence of theſe reſpectable perſonages, "That I wore green breeches patched with leather?" To convict you, therefore, of the falſehood of this moſt diabolical ſlander; to put you to eternal ſilence, (if you are not paſt all grace,) and to cover you with a much larger patch of infamy than you have wantonly endeavoured to fix on my breeches, I have thought proper, by the advice of three very grave friends, (lawyers and members of Congreſs, of courſe excellent judges in delicate points of honour,) to ſend you the ſaid breeches, and, with the conſciouſneſs of truth on my ſide, to ſubmit them to the moſt ſevere inſpection and ſcrutiny of you and all thoſe who may have entered into this wicked cabal againſt my honour and reputation. I ſay, I dare you, and your whole junto, to your worſt: turn them, examine them, inſide and outſide, and if you find them to be green breeches patched with leather, and not actually legitimate

ſherry

ſherry vallies *, ſuch as his Majeſty of Poland wears, (who, let me tell you, is a man that has made more faſhions than all your knights of the Meſchianza † put together, notwithſtanding their beauties :) I repeat it, (though I am almoſt out of breath with repetitions and parentheſes,) that if theſe are proved to be patched green breeches, and not real legitimate ſherry vallies, (which a man of the firſt *bon ton* might be proud of,) I will ſubmit in ſilence to all the ſcurrility which, I have no doubt, you and your abettors are prepared to pour out againſt me, in the public papers, on this important and intereſting occaſion. But, Madam! Madam! reputation (as "Common Senſe," very ſenſibly, though not very uncommonly obſerves,) is a ſerious thing. You have already injured me in the tendereſt part, and I demand ſatisfaction; and as you cannot be ignorant of the laws of duelling, having converſed with ſo many Iriſh officers, whoſe favourite topic it is, particularly in the company of ladies, I inſiſt on the privilege of the injured party, which is, to name his hour and weapons; and as I intend it to be a very ſerious affair, will not admit of any ſeconds; and you

* A kind of long breeches reaching to the ancle, with a broad ſtripe of leather on the inſide of the thigh, for the conveniency of riding.

† An entertainment given by General Howe juſt before the evacuation of Philadelphia, at which were introduced Tilts and Tournaments in favour of the ladies, of whom Miſs F— was one.

may depend upon it, Miſs F - - - - s, that whatever may be your ſpirit on the occaſion, the world ſhall never accuſe General L - - with having turned his back upon you. In the mean time,

I am,

Yours,

C. L - -.

Miſs F - - - - s,
Philadelphia.

P. S. I have communicated the affair only to my confidential friend - - - - - -, who has mentioned it to no more than ſeven members of Congreſs and nineteen women, ſix of whom are old maids; ſo that there is no danger of its taking wind on my ſide; and, I hope, you will be equally guarded on your part.

MADAM, Philadelphia, Jan. 28th, 1779.

NOTHING has happened to me of late, that has given me more concern than the ſerious light in which I am told you are perſuaded to conſider the harmleſs jocular letter I wrote to you; I ſay, perſuaded to conſider; for, on the firſt receipt of it, when you were directed alone by your own excellent

excellent underſtanding, you conceived it as it was meant, an innocent *jeu d'eſprit*.

I do not mean to compliment, when I aſſure you, upon my honour, that it was the good opinion I had of your underſtanding which encouraged me to indulge myſelf in this piece of raillery, which is, in effect, not in the leaſt directed againſt you, but againſt myſelf and ſome others; if it contains any ſatire, you are obviouſly the vehicle, not the object.

My acquaintance with you is too ſlender to take any liberties which border on familiarity; and I had been taught to believe, that the liberality of your mind and diſpoſition, would be pleaſed with any effort to make you laugh for a moment in theſe melancholy times. Upon the word of an honeſt man, if I had thought a ſingle ſentence of this traſh could have given you uneaſineſs, I would ſooner have put my hand into the fire than have written it. Thank God, I have not that petulant itch of ſcribbling, and vain ambition of paſſing for a wit, as to

> Give virtue ſcandal, innocence a fear,
> Or from the ſoft-ey'd virgin ſteal a tear.

And, to ſpeak my real thoughts, I am thoroughly perſuaded, that you muſt ſuffer yourſelf to be biaſſed by people infinitely your inferiors in capacity; and if you really are offended by what nobody, who is not below mediocrity in underſtanding,

ſtanding, can miſtake for any thing but an harmleſs joke, founded on the good opinion of the perſon to whom it is addreſſed, I confeſs I have been much deceived in you. I muſt, therefore, think, that by conſulting yourſelf alone, you will conſider it in its proper light, and believe me to be, with the greateſt reſpect,

Madam,

Your moſt obedient,

And very humble ſervant,

C—— L——.

To
Miſs F———s,
Philadelphia.

My dear Sister, Prato Rio, Sept. 24th, 1779.

I HAVE juſt received your letter of January the 3d: I know not whether you have received them, but in the courſe of this and the laſt year, I wrote you two letters, informing you fully of my health and ſpirits; the two points which, from your natural tenderneſs and affection, I knew you muſt be moſt ſolicitous about; they have both, thank Heaven, and the good conſtitution we re-

ceived from our father and mother, never failed me a ſingle day; and until I am conſcious of having committed ſome unworthy action, which, I can aſſure you, is not at preſent the caſe, the iniquity of men ſhall never bear me down. I have, it is true, uneaſy feelings, but not on my own perſonal account. I feel for the empire of Great Britain, I feel for the fortunes of my relations and friends, which muſt receive a dreadful ſhock in this great convulſion. As to my perſonal honour, for I ſuppoſe you allude to the affair of Monmouth, all I ſhall ſay is, that as I believe the proceedings of the court have been ſent to England, and as you have eyes to read, and capacity to judge and make proper comments, I may be quite eaſy on the ſubject.

What has not our quondam friend Gage to anſwer for? I laboured, at Boſton, by a letter, to open his eyes, and he treated my efforts as the effects of republican inſanity. Had he liſtened to me, the empire of Great Britain would have ſtood, the affections and allegiance of this great people continued for ages. He is, in fact, anſwerable for the ſubverſion of the Britiſh empire, and for the blood of, at leaſt, one hundred thouſand Engliſhmen, or the immediate deſcendants of Engliſhmen. I fancy too, by this time, Lord Piercy and General Burgoyne lament that they conſidered my letters as the ebullition of madneſs or faction. But as my letter muſt be opened before it reaches

you,

you, any thing like politics muſt be improper. God bleſs you, my dear ſiſter. My love to the Townſhends, Hunts, Bunburys, Mrs. Hinks, and the Barrets.

Your's, moſt affectionately,

CHARLES LEE.

Mrs. Sidney Lee,
Cheſter.

My dear Sister, Virginia, June 22d, 1782.

THE other day, by a kind act of Providence, a letter of yours fell into my hands, of ſo late date as the 20th of March, and what is more, it had the appearance of never having been opened. You will better conceive, than I can expreſs, the pleaſure which I received from it; for I aſſure you, that my American enthuſiaſm is at preſent ſo far worn off, that the greateſt ſatisfaction I can receive, is to be informed of the health and welfare of my Engliſh friends, who, with all their political ſins, corruptions and follies, ſtill poſſeſs more virtues, at leaſt as individuals, than all the nations of the

earth. As to the Americans, though I once thought otherwiſe, when their characters are impartially and minutely diſcuſſed, I am ſure they will appear not only deſtitute of the perſonal virtues and good qualities which render thoſe they deſcended from ſo eſtimable in the eyes of other nations, ſuch as truth, honeſty, ſincerity, and good underſtanding; but, I am much miſtaken, if the great public qualities which you at a diſtance ſuppoſe them to be endowed with, will ſtand a ſcrutiny; but a ſcrutiny of this kind, in a letter, is not poſſible: all that I ſhall ſay is, that, the New England-men excepted, the reſt of the Americans, though they fancy and call themſelves republicans, have not a ſingle republican qualification or idea. They have always a god of the day, whoſe infallibility is not to be diſputed: to him all the people muſt bow down and ſing Hoſannas.

You are curious, my dear ſiſter, on the ſubject of my finances, and are deſirous to know whether theſe people, to whom I have ſacrificed every thing, have ſhewn the ſame black ingratitude with reſpect to my circumſtances as they have in other matters; I can aſſure you, then, that their actions are all of a piece. Was it not for the friendſhip of Mr. Robert Morris and a fortunate purchaſe I made, more by luck than cunning, I might have begged in the ſtreets, but without much chance of being relieved; not but that, to be juſt, there are many exceptions to the general character

of

of the Americans, both in and out of the army, and I think the greater number are of the latter claſs, men of ſome honour, and who, I believe, have, from the beginning, acted on principle; and all theſe I may, without vanity, ſay, have been my friends and advocates. Among the worthies of America I reckon Mr. Robert Morris of Philadelphia; Richard Henry Lee of Virginia; Adams and Lovel, and ſome others of New England; the Morris's of New-York; and Dr. Ruſh of Philadelphia. In the army there are many worthy to be mentioned, Generals Schuyler, Miflin, Sullivan, Muhlenburgh, Wayne, Weedon, Green, Knox, &c.

I have been particularly fortunate in my aid du camps—all young gentlemen of the beſt families, fortunes, and education of this continent; but above all, I ſhould mention young Colonel Harry Lee, who has ſignalized himſelf extremely in this accurſed conteſt, the ruinous conſequences of which to the whole empire, I predicted to Lord Piercy and to my friend General Burgoyne. To do the Americans juſtice, they certainly were not the aggreſſors, but the retroſpect now is of no uſe. In all civil conteſts the people, in general, have not been the aggreſſors; they only wiſh to defend, not to encroach. The monarchs or magnates generally commence by their oppreſſions. Witneſs the diſputes betwixt the patricians and the plebeians of Rome, and our wars in the time of Charles

Charles the First; but the people in the contest forget the principles on which they set out, which ultimately brings destruction on both parties; and this I extremely apprehend will be the case at present. I shall now quit the labyrinths of politics, and return to the subject of my own finances. Mr. Mure has used me most cruelly and villainously; notwithstanding the vast sums he owes me, he has protested a bill of three hundred pounds, which has thrown me into unspeakable distress. He has affected a delicacy in honouring the bills of a rebel; but if he will consult the proclamation of Sir Henry Clinton, in the year seventy eight, he will find that I am exempted from the apprehension of confiscation by the terms of this proclamation, which declares, That no man, from the date hereof, who does not positively act in a civil or military capacity, is subject to the confiscation of his property; but as I have reason to think that the man will avail himself of every chicane, when money is in the case, I must entreat that you will urge Sir Charles Bunbury and Davers to endeavour to influence him, at least to furnish Mr. Garton, for my use, with five, four, or at least three hundred pounds until the contest is over, and the law, according to the terms of peace, tells us what is to be done; but, at any rate, he, Mr. Mure, can have no claim as an individual to my fortune: he must account for it to somebody.

I am extremely concerned at the embarassment

our couſin S—— gives you with regard to the legacy, but it is the very error of the moon; ſhe comes more near the earth than ſhe was wont to do, and makes men mad. Is my worthieſt friend Butler alive, and amongſt you? If he is, a thouſand bleſſings, in my name, on his head. God Almighty, my dear ſiſter, give you long life, eaſe, and ſpirits, is devoutly the wiſh of

Your moſt affectionate brother,

CHARLES LEE.

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